

OCT 26 1942

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

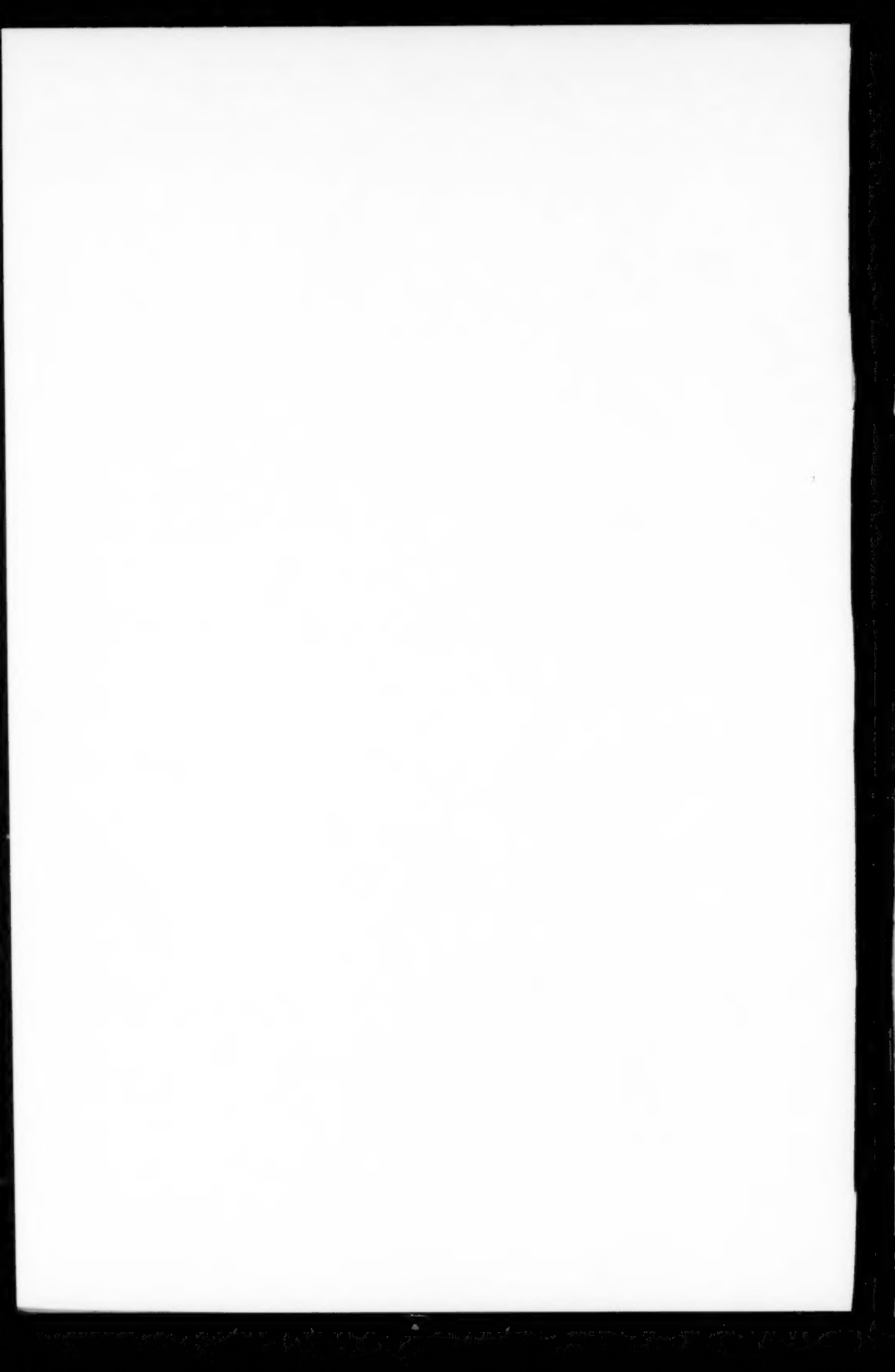
FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF  
THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES  
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS · PUBLISHERS

RDTA

VOLUME XXXIII · OCTOBER 1942 · NUMBER THREE



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

HORATIO SMITH, *General Editor*

JEAN-ALBERT BÉDÉ

DINO BIGONGIARI

LOUIS CONS

JOHN L. GERIG

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

HENRI F. MULLER

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

FEDERICO DE ONÍS

MARIO A. PEI

NORMAN L. TORREY

W. M. FROHOCK, *Secretary*

VOLUME XXXIII

OCTOBER 1942

NUMBER 3

## ARTICLES

- |   |                    |     |
|---|--------------------|-----|
| Louis Cons (1879-1942)  | THE EDITORS        | 215 |
| Anglo-Norman Versification and the <i>Roman de Toute Chevalerie</i> | FREDERICK B. AGARD | 216 |
| Voltaire and Firmin Abauzit   | MINA WATERMAN      | 236 |
| Madame du Châtelet, Voltaire and Plato                              | EDITH PHILIPS      | 250 |
| Le Rôle du déterminisme dans la <i>Comédie Humaine</i> de Balzac    | H. U. FOREST       | 264 |
| The Theme of Penguin Island   | W. T. E. KENNETT   | 275 |
| An Unpublished Description of Naples by Francesco Bandini           | P. O. KRISTELLER   | 290 |

## REVIEWS

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| Norman Foerster, John C. McGalliard, René Wellek, Austin Warren,<br>Wilbur L. Schramm, <i>Literary Scholarship, Its Aims and Methods</i> .<br>[MINA WATERMAN, JEFFREY J. CARRE, ERIC M. STEEL, WILLIAM<br>S. ROGERS, JACKSON MATTHEWS] | 307 |
| Books Received   | 316 |

---

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is published four times a year (February-April-October-December) by Columbia University Press, 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, or 2960 Broadway, New York City. Single copies, \$1.00 (foreign, \$1.10); \$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, \$4.30). Subscribers should notify the publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1942 by Columbia University Press.

Manuscripts, editorial communications and books for review should be addressed to Professor Horatio Smith, 513 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York City. THE REVIEW will not be responsible for the return of manuscripts unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. For all questions regarding preparation of manuscripts and printing style, consult the "Notes for Contributors" at the end of the February issue.

All communications of a business nature should be addressed to Columbia University Press, Room 108, 2960 Broadway, New York City.



## LOUIS CONS (1879-1942)

---

As we here now mourn the death of Professor Louis Cons, it is not our plan to review his academic career, but rather to commemorate his unquestioned qualities as man and scholar.

When in 1937, he left us to accept a professorship at Harvard University he graciously consented to remain on the staff of editors of the *Romanic Review*. This was for him no empty title, for time and again in the course of the ensuing years we were happy to rely on his judgment in the choice of articles and to call on him for as many reviews as his time and conscience would permit him to write. The gentility of his approach combined with the unerring acuteness of his mind made of him one of America's most beloved and most dependable professors of the Humane Letters.

His character was marked by a rare combination of deep sensitivity and unflinching courage. His gentle ways and sympathetic understanding of his fellow men won their hearts and prepared their acceptance of his message: the rôle played by France from the Middle Ages to modern times, in the formation and development of our common cultural heritage. His career in America was interrupted for four years while he served as lieutenant in the French Army during the first World War. During the second, France's military defeat broke his heart but not his will. Again sacrificing himself for his ideal, he fought for the cause of, and was buried beneath the flag of, a Free France.

THE EDITORS OF THE  
ROMANIC REVIEW

## ANGLO-NORMAN VERSIFICATION AND THE *ROMAN DE TOUTE CHEVALERIE*

AS HAS BEEN OBSERVED in a recent article touching various aspects of the study of Anglo-Norman language and literature,<sup>1</sup> the question of Anglo-Norman (AN) syllabic prosody is as yet far from closed. In this connection the writer has made a metrical study of parts of the AN *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* (RTCh) of Thomas of Kent,<sup>2</sup> an unpublished opus which possesses certain characteristics facilitating not only segregation of the superficial errors of late scribes, but also differentiation of the work of its authors from that of subsequent redactors or copyists. The surviving RTCh is a redaction of Thomas' late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century poem,<sup>3</sup> into which there has been interpolated, out of the Alexandre de Paris (AdeP) version of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (RALix), the three-thousand-line episode known as the *Fuerre de Gadres* (FGa),<sup>4</sup> accompanied by a passage of 137 lines serving as a transitional link, or "bridge," between the interpolation and subsequent material. All is written in dodecasyllabic verse.

The FGa section is based on an accessible text in which the metrical form adheres to continental standards, so that the metrics of its author (AdeP) serves as a control of what deviations are due to the subsequent Anglo-Normans. This section is further valuable for comparison with the other two sections, which had no such continental antecedents.

Thus in any one extant manuscript of the RTCh we have: (1) a portion (the FGa story) the author of which was the continental AdeP; (2) a 137-line passage, the author of which was the AN interpolator of the FGa;<sup>5</sup> and (3) a substantial portion, the author of which was the AN

1. Ruth J. Dean, "Anglo-Norman Studies," *Romanic Review*, xxx (1939), 3-14.

2. This author is often designated as Thomas or Eustache of Kent, by reason of a puzzling alternation of these two names in the RTCh manuscripts. Paul Meyer (*Alexandre le Grand*, II, Paris, 1886, p. 282) favored *Eustache*, but a more exhaustive study of all the evidence led J. Weynand (*Der Roman de toute chevalerie des Thomas von Kent*, Bonn, 1911) to pronounce herself in favor of the name *Thomas*, and all subsequent studies definitely confirm this decision.

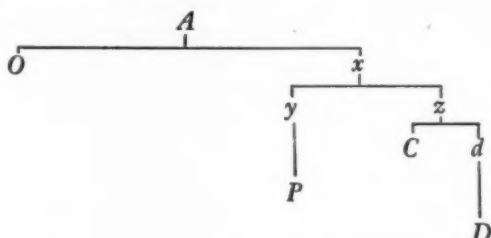
3. Thomas' poem itself, an AN account of Alexander the Great based on the Latin *Epitome* of Julius Valerius, was composed in the late 12th century according to H. Schneegans ("Die Sprache des Alexanderromans von Eustache von Kent," *ZFSL*, xxxi [1907], 29), or in the early 13th according to Paul Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 294). It shows no connection with the French *Roman d'Alexandre*.

4. *Roman d'Alexandre*, II (Elliott Monographs 37), Branch II, lines 1-2424. The interpolation into the RTCh can even be identified as derived from a manuscript kindred to manuscript C of the AdeP FGa.

5. That the interpolator of the FGa was not Thomas himself, but a posterior redactor, has been demonstrated by Schneegans, "Ueber die Interpolation des *Fuerre de Gadres* im altfrz. Roman des Eustache von Kent," *Festschrift Wilhelm Viëtor*, Marburg, 1910.

Thomas of Kent—all of which texts have however passed through the hands of one and the same AN copyist. Actually, there exist three manuscripts of the RTCh, and the fragment of a fourth. Thus, by choosing one of the manuscripts as a point of departure and utilizing the others for purposes of comparison, we may obtain light upon the metrics of the successive redactions from end-manuscript back to the authors themselves. The manuscripts of the RTCh are: *C*—Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.9.34 (late 13th cent.); *D*—Durham Cathedral, C IV.27B (14th cent.); *P*—Paris, BNF 24364 (*circa* 1300); Fragment *O* (one folio)—Oxford, Bodleian (13th cent.).<sup>6</sup> In the choice of the basic manuscript for our study we are guided by the following considerations: *P* is rejected as being the product of a continental French copyist who presumably eliminated from the text AN peculiarities present in his model; of the other two manuscripts we may without hesitation choose *C*, the older and by far the more carefully executed.<sup>7</sup>

Schneegans' scheme of manuscript relationship of the RTCh, including Fragment *O*, is as follows:<sup>8</sup>



Since we have no testimony as to whether the manuscript of Fragment *O* contained the FGa, it is for the moment uncertain whether the interpolation of the FGa occurred at the stage "*A*" or at the stage "*x*"; some light on this question will be furnished, however, in the ensuing discussion. In any case, we may attempt conclusions with regard to the metrics of *four stages* of the RTCh, namely: (I) the *C* manuscript, (II) the *z* redaction, (III) the *x* redaction, (IV) the texts composed by AdeP, the Interpolator and Thomas. Consequently our study will comprise four main divisions; each division will be devoted to an analysis of

6. Photostats of manuscripts *C*, *D*, and *P* are accessible to the writer. The text of fragment *O* is given by Paul Meyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 278-79).

7. *C* could not however serve as a principal basis of study for the entire RTCh, for it is an incomplete manuscript opening in the middle of the FGa section.

8. "Die handschriftliche Gestaltung des Alexander-Romans von Eustache von Kent," *ZFSL*, xxx (1906), 240-63.

the meter of the redaction in question, and to an interpretation of the meter as regards the redactor's metrical system or habits.

The length of each of the three samples of manuscript *C* chosen for examination is 137 lines, the number of lines in Sample 2, the Bridge material. The other two samples have been selected at random: Sample 1, from the interpolated FGa, a portion which parallels lines 2030-2180 of Branch II in the AdeP text; Sample 3, from Thomas, a passage necessarily lying outside the FGa interpolation, which treats of Alexander's conflict with Darius.<sup>9</sup> Thus the total content of the material to be studied is 411 lines, or 822 hemistichs. Our preliminary task is to segregate, from this total of 822 hemistichs, the ones which in manuscript *C* present any metrical irregularity. Now if we were here to employ the simple expedient of counting the actual syllables written, according to standard Old French (OF) orthography and the principles of dodecasyllabic verse (i.e., each vowel or diphthong to represent a syllable save final atonic *e* immediately following the sixth or twelfth), we should arrive at a relatively meaningless figure. The obtaining of our ratio demands, rather, a careful interpretation of AN orthographical habits. It is a recognized fact that the orthography of this dialect varied in certain respects from that of standard continental French—and some of the variations have to be taken into account as bearing directly upon the syllabic content of given words. These peculiarities appear to have been brought about mainly by the considerably advanced state, for the OF period, of the *pronunciation* of French in England; some of them had attained, at the date of our manuscript, the status of established conventions. Let us attempt to classify these peculiarities.

(a) In many words, a preceding vowel in hiatus with the tonic or pre-tonic vowel seems to have been lost early in AN pronunciation. As a consequence scribes more frequently than not omitted the pretonic vowel (notably if it was *e*) in the writing of such words, e.g. *rançon* (for *reançon*, three syllables), *crue* (for *creüe*, three syllables).<sup>10</sup>

(b) It is generally agreed that atonic *e* disappeared from the pronunciation in AN somewhat earlier than on the continent. As a result of this disappearance, scribes only vaguely conscious of the function of the *e* in writing were accustomed on the one hand to insert a spurious *e* where it had no phonetic value, and conversely to omit an etymological *e* in imi-

9. The respective samples are contained on the following folios of the RTCh manuscripts: Sample 1: *C* fos. 5vo-6vo, *D* fos. 72vo-74vo, *P* fos. 28vo-29ro; Sample 2: *C* fos. 7ro-7vo, *D* fos. 75vo-77vo, *P* fos. 29vo-31ro; Sample 3: *C* fos. 17vo-18vo, *D* fos. 106ro-108ro, *P* fos. 41ro-42ro.

10. For discussion of possible "compensatory lengthening" in such cases, see below.

tation of actual speech. Thus we find *damageé* for *damagé*, etc., or *fei* for *feie*, *teisé* for *teisee*, *serment* for *serement*, etc., and in all of these last cases, for metrical purposes, a necessary syllable is lost in the writing. By reason of this uncertainty with regard to atonic *e*, existing doublets with and without final *e* (e.g. *com:come*, or *ore*) were written interchangeably without feeling for their alternative syllable count. Furthermore, this same scribal uncertainty manifests itself with respect to certain OF monosyllables such as *que*, *ne* (<NEC), *se* (<SI), and *si* (<SIC), whose vowel was becoming atonic in pronunciation but was historically tonic, so that in poetry it was optional before a vowel to follow the historical tradition and make it tonic, or to treat it as atonic and elide it. This distinction was observed in continental orthography through the use of elided beside non-elided forms, e.g. *qu'il: que il*, *n'ami: ne ami*. But AN scribes, aware of the alternate writings but not of a pronunciation with tonic vowel which had disappeared from current speech, wrote the two types indifferently; moreover, extending this confusion, they frequently failed to observe written elision before initial vowel in the series of atonic monosyllables *de*, *le*, *se* (<SE), etc., e.g. *de une*, *le out*.<sup>11</sup>

Certain deviations from normal OF spelling recur in AN texts with such regularity in given situations that they may be regarded as actual conventions. These involve the use of the written symbol *e*,<sup>12</sup> as we shall now note.

(c) An *e* having no syllabic value of its own was frequently written after *u* to indicate the consonantal value of the latter before an *r*. Thus, as in standard OF, *seueré*, *beiuere*, *auera* count two syllables each.

(d) Seemingly by the analogy of such future forms as *auera*, *sauera*, strengthened by a great number of etymological futures in *-er-* (e.g. *mandera*), the writing of a non-syllabic *e* was extended to future forms such as *perdera* (two syllables), *defenderom* (three syllables).

(e) The above principle of the non-syllabic *e* was further extended to occasional words containing consonant + *r*—so *Gaderein* (two syllables).

(f) The future and conditional of the verb *faire* (*fera*, *feroit*, etc.,

11. It is perhaps justifiable to include in this general category a failure to observe enclisis in writing, e.g. *ke le* for *kel* (one syllable). The latter orthography was required in standard OF, and was doubtless in accord with a general pronunciation which has continued into Modern French, cf. "plutôt le taire que le dire" [plyto l tɛr kə l di:r].

12. The use of the symbol *i* to indicate the palatalization of a preceding consonant appears occasionally to represent an extra syllable in writing, e.g., *compaignie* for *compaigne* (three syllables). This practice is not however confined to AN, but is found over much of the OF territory, and many scribes betray uncertainty of canon in writing such words. Hence in the orthography of manuscript C we need not hesitate to accept this use of *i* as standard, even in such spellings as *estorie* (three syllables), *Darie* (two syllables), etc.

often used in auxiliary function, e.g. *Si le fera morir*) was almost invariably written without the *e* of the stem: *fra*,<sup>13</sup> etc. (two syllables).

A few examples will serve to illustrate types of hemistichs which appear irregular but in reality are not, or which appear regular but must be accounted as irregular. We list these under categories corresponding to the lettered paragraphs of the preceding discussion. The use of parentheses or square brackets marks the spelling adjustments indicated in judging the regularity or irregularity of the hemistich in question.

- (a) *As cit[e]ins parolent e mettent a reison* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2043)  
*Ja n'i prendra un sul ke jammés ait r[e]ançon* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2050)  
*Or sache ben Betiz paine li est cr[e]ue* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2140)  
*G[a]ain en quidai auer od mon hardement* (Sample 3)
- (b) *L'une part e l'autre est damag(e)é forment* (Sample 3)  
*Cope e detrenche fei[e] quer e pumon* (Sample 2)  
*Mes li riches Daries me fist hier ser[e]ment* (Sample 3)  
*D'ire e de mautalent est espris com(e) leon* (Sample 2)  
*Or(e) me fetes agard kar mut m'ad ledengé* (Sample 3)  
*Ben quident k(e)'Alisandre seit mis a honeison* (Sample 2)  
*Aubba sai des armes al Griu k[e] il oscist* (Sample 3)  
*Kar joe ne vus dui fei leauté n(e)'amisté* (Sample 3)  
*S(i)'Alisandre nus prent mal auom erré* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2078)  
*S[e] il le poet ateindre sache verement* (Sample 2)  
*Alisandre s'en rist s(i)'apele Philotas* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2128)  
*En guise d(e)'un des miens m'est en l'estur gaité* (Sample 3)  
*Quant Alisandre l(e)'out k'il criënt durement* (Sample 2)  
*Kel(e) feri de la lance al vif tut a bandon* (Sample 2)
- (c) *Çoe lur dit Anthiocus par mal somes seu(e)rê* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2065)  
*Mes par tens au(e)ra tut autre gareison* (Sample 2)  
*Mut sui pou(e)res d'auoir si sont tut mi parent* (Sample 3)
- (d) *Si Alisandre nus asaut nus en defend(e)rom* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2055)  
*E la terre enuiron ja plein pié ne perd(e)ras* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2120)
- (e) *A la cité s'en entrent li Gad(e)rein por garir* (Sample 2)  
*Ferent les Gad(e)reins e oscient a dolor* (Sample 2)
- (f) *E cil lui respondi vostre pleisir en f[e]rom* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2040)  
*S'il en ueut combatre jel f[e]rai recreant* (Sample 3)

13. This writing evidently represents a pronunciation [fra], a phenomenon which confirms the non-syllabic value of the *e* in the other types. The case of *faire* is unique because of its phonetic structure; we do not find a parallel writing \**sra* for *serra*, for an initial cluster *sr-* is not normally permitted in French. Cf., in this respect, the very general writing *serra* in AN, where the doubled *r* seems to emphasize a feeling for syllabic *e*.

I. The *C* Manuscript.—Even after such adjustments as are above illustrated, there occur the following number of metrically irregular hemistichs per sample in manuscript *C*: Sample 1 (FGa), 82; Sample 2 (Bridge), 86; Sample 3 (Thomas), 85. The combined total is 253 irregular out of 822, or approximately 31 per cent. This ratio would indicate that the *C* scribe had only the vaguest notion that six syllables constitute a hemistich, and twelve syllables a line. But before accepting this as a definite conclusion, we should weigh the possibility of a consciously altered canon, in the system of the *C* scribe (and by implication, of AN copyists of his date), for counting the twelve syllables of a line. Do we substantially diminish the ratio of irregular to regular lines if we assume that AN scribes maintained a feeling for twelve syllables to the line but abandoned the established rules of *caesura*? Let us then test the effect upon our ratio of irregularities, should we admit the following abnormal patterns in AN versification: (1) displacement of the *caesura* in either direction from medial position; (2) location of the *caesura* between the seventh and eighth syllables, the seventh being a final atonic *e*; (3) normal location of the *caesura*, with a final atonic *e* counting as the sixth syllable. Such patterns are exemplified in the following readings found in *C*:

- (1) Atende cil ki uod(e)ra / les vers en present (7+5)  
Ferent les Gad(e)reins / e oscient a dolor (5+7)
- (2) En la tente Alisandrë / sont li mes entrë
- (3) Si Ponçon ne vengë / mieuz uoil en champ finir

The lines so built number 58 (11, 16 and 31 for the respective types) out of a total of 213 irregular lines. On the other hand, out of 198 wholly regular lines, as many as 62 show, after the sixth syllable (before the *caesura*) a final atonic *e* which, as in standard metrics, is without syllabic value. It is therefore to be concluded that the 58 twelve-syllable lines with abnormal inner structure do not establish an altered AN pattern for what constitutes a good twelve-syllable line. And indeed, the fact that the *C* scribe could let pass from his pen such lines as

- Deu nostre sire en soit gracië (4+5=9)
- A lui ki de vus preïst Alisandre vengement (7+7=14)
- Si mande tel parole a Photolomeu communement (6+9=15)

quite convincingly confirms a suspicion of his fundamental uncertainty. Or again is it possible, as some scholars have suggested, that an altered AN metrical canon existed in the form of compensatory lengthenings—that is to say, in the counting of a long syllable as two syllables? Such a



criterion could, obviously, be applied only to those hemistichs which according to continental standards are short, and would necessarily leave unexplained those which contain more than the requisite six syllables, the latter comprising as much as one third of the total number of irregular hemistichs. We have, of course, no exact conception of syllabic quantity in AN *pronunciation*, nor indeed in standard OF speech; in view, however, of the direction which Modern French has taken with regard to quantity, it would be extremely hazardous to admit the possibility, even for AN—unless this dialect developed peculiarly un-French tendencies—of any lengthened syllable which did not receive stress. If on the other hand we take such types of words as show a lengthened tonic vowel in Modern French—e.g. *rendent* [rã:d], *tour* (tu:r], *cœur* [kœ:r], *derrière* [derjɛ:r]—it may be possible to explain perhaps thirty per cent of the “minus” hemistichs in *C* as containing a word whose stressed syllable counted as two. This hypothesis is wholly invalidated, however, by the fact that for every word containing such theoretical compensatory lengthening, copious examples are present in the same *C* text where similar lengthening does not occur. Thus *Ki out tente ou tref*, where *ten-* might count for two syllables, is offset by *En la tente Alisandre*, where it manifestly counts as one.<sup>14</sup>

Our tests thus tend to show that nothing will serve to explain the irregular meter of manuscript *C*, and the conclusion seems inevitable that its scribe was almost wholly ignorant of, or indifferent to, the more rigorous principles of versification.

II. The *z* Redaction.—The readings of this lost redaction which served as the common source of manuscripts *C* and *D* can for the most part be reconstructed. The number of metrically irregular hemistichs in *D* actually exceeds that in *C*, but most of this excess can be identified as merely careless alteration in *D* (or in its immediate model, *d*) and has no bearing on our problem. A vast majority of the lines are identical in the two manuscripts, and wherever such lines show a metrical irregularity, this irregularity is to be attributed to the *z* redaction.

In a limited number of cases, *D* offers a regular hemistich over against an irregular one in *C*. In several of these instances the *z* reading remains uncertain, since the *D* reading may reflect, so far as we can judge, not a regular reading in *z*, but an emendation of an irregular *z* reading preserved in *C*. For example, for the *C* hemistich *vaillant un buton*, *D* has

14. As regards the possibility of compensatory lengthening in words where a pretonic vowel in hiatus has fallen, the number of cases (three in all: *crue*, *citeins*, *gain*) is insignificantly small.



the variant *vailisant u.b.* The variant of *P*, the third manuscript, may be taken as a test in such cases. Here the *P* reading is *vaillant un esperon*: thus *z* can have introduced an irregularity by substituting *buton* for *esperon*, with *D* subsequently regularizing the meter and *C* leaving it unchanged. If, on the other hand, *D* and *P* agree in a regular reading against *C*, it is fairly probable that this was the reading of *z*, preserved in *D* and altered in *C* alone. Three illustrations of this type will suffice:

E ke einz la rendront *ke ne seit gastie*; *DP: k'ele n.s.g.* (Sample 1, cf. RALix II 2090)

A tuz toudrai les testes *sanz autre tençun*; *DP: s.a.reançon* (Sample 2)

Vus fussez mort del cop *par mon escient*; *DP: p.le (Pal) mien e.* (Sample 3)

The cases where the above method of comparison shows the *z* redaction to have had a regular hemistich underlying an irregular one in *C*, are ten in number (six in Sample 1, two in Sample 2, two in Sample 3). Thus, in case we class as irregular the readings which are uncertain in *z*, the *z* redaction can have had as many as 243 irregular hemistichs as compared with *C*'s 253. The conclusion to be drawn is that the scribe of *z*, of scarcely earlier date than the scribe of *C* (which is in fact presumed to be a direct copy of *z*), was little if any more conscious of metrics than his successor; the slightly larger number of irregularities found in the work of the *C* scribe is satisfactorily explained as simply the margin, in the production of another text, for further errors of transcription.

III. The *x* Redaction.—A reconstitution of the lost *x* redaction is far from being the relatively uncomplicated process of reconstructing *z*. The *x* redaction represents the common source of *z* and *P*, and these two derivatives—often greatly divergent in given readings—are the sole key to *x*. Because of this uncertainty with regard to the text of *x*, the only workable approach is to inquire how many of those *C* irregularities of meter which are presumed to have been present also in *z* must necessarily be attributed to *x*.<sup>15</sup> With a view to answering this question, we compare the 243 irregular *z* hemistichs with their *P* variants and find that a very large proportion of these *P* variants are metrically regular. Now if, in such cases, the metrically regular *P* variant seems quite clearly to *underlie* the irregular *z* reading, there is good chance that *P* reflects the source (*x*) and that the source reading was metrically regu-

15. This approach involves, obviously, the assumption that lines regular in *z* were regular in *x* regardless of the meter of their *P* variants; indeed, such few of the *P* variants as are irregular can for the most part be identified on their face as due to superficial scribal error.

lar. This supposition permits the elimination, as almost certainly non-attributable to *x*, of 102 out of the 243 hemistichs irregular in *z* (25 for Sample 1, 38 for Sample 2, 39 for Sample 3). We offer the following examples of hemistichs so eliminated, where it can be observed that the *z* irregularity seems due to some addition, omission, or minor alteration:

*Dites a ceus de leinz ke tost les asaudrom; P: D.c.d.l. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2037)*

*Çoe lur dit Anthiocus par mal somes seu(e)rê; P: C.d.a. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2065)*

*E cil lui responnent vus parlez en pardon; P: E.c.lor respondirent (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2051)*

*E respont Alisandre çoe me vient a grê; P: ç.m.v.molt a g. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2087)*

*Emenidus ne fina des bons cops departir; P: E.n.fine (Sample 2)*

*Betiz le duc s'est arestu en la maistre rue; P: L.d.s'e.a. (Sample 2)*

*Un ris en ad geté sanz mesprison; P: s.altre m. (Sample 2)*

*Turc ne Auçopart ne Sarazin felun; P: Ne t.n.a. (Sample 2)*

*Li Persien respont la traïson en defent; P: l.t.d. (Sample 3)*

*Tant com lance li dure del chiuall mort le destent; P: d.c.m.l'estent (Sample 3)*

*Ben doit quere aventure ki est bosoignus; P: cil k.e.b. (Sample 3)*

*Anthioche l'ostage se dresce en estant; P: s.dresça e.e. (Sample 3)*

Among the irregular *z* hemistichs which remain after application of the above principle, we find a considerable number whose *P* variant, while not seeming directly to underlie the *z* reading, is nevertheless regular in meter and satisfactory in sense. Here also there is reasonable probability that *P* represents *x* and that the *z* irregularity was not in the common source, *x*. Consequently, in pursuance of our same principle, we eliminate 64 more irregular *z* hemistichs (32 from Sample 1, 17 from Sample 2, 15 from Sample 3), of the following types:<sup>16</sup>

*Rendez lui ceste citê od tut le dongon; P: R.l.c.vile (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2045)*

*Alisandre vit la citê ke vers lui s'umilie; P: Li rois v.l.c. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2089)*

*Joe ne sai ke te tient al quer ke tu as; P: ne le q.k.t.a. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2126)*

*Ki out tente ou tref al plain l'ad estendue; P: K.o.t.ne t. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2151)*

16. Included among these as well as among the previous 102 cases are a handful where the *P* variant is likewise ametric, but where the combined testimony leaves no doubt that the underlying *P* reading was regular, e.g.:

*Mut ad abaturz . . . ; P: M.en ab., for M.en ad ab.?*

*Mes li riches Daries . . . ; P: M.l.soldains, for M.l.riches soldains?*

Kar lur seignor est mort *e il sont gent esperdue*; *P: e la g.e.* (Sample 2)  
 Ferent les Gad(e)reins *e oscient a dolur*; *P: e tiient a d.* (Sample 2)  
*Joe me sent ben nen ai de mort poür*; *P: J.s.molt b.mon coer* (Sample 2)  
*E li duc fut issuz delez une praie*; *P: d.u.sapoie* (Sample 2)  
*Quant por pramesse a seignor se mist en tel semblant*; *P: Q.p.p. al rei* (Sample 3)  
*Pasment cil bachelier par le champ espesement*; *P: el c.e.* (Sample 3)  
*Mesauenu m'en est mut tres malement*; *P: certes malveusement* (Sample 3)  
*Ou del fier damage n'eit al quer marrement*; *P: E d'icel f.d.* (Sample 3)

Having thus eliminated 166 (102+64) irregular *z* hemistichs which we are not obliged to attribute to the *x* redaction, we are left with a residue of 77 which may or may not have been irregular in *x*. This relatively small percentage already suggests that the *x* redactor had a fair acquaintance with metrical rules. But are we compelled to ascribe every one of these remaining 77 irregular hemistichs (19 for Sample 1, 29 for Sample 2, 29 for Sample 3) to the *x* redaction? Of the 77, almost three quarters (50) show readings in which the comparison of *z* and *P* variants allows of no definite conclusion as to the exact character of the *x* reading. This is so either because (1) *z* and *P* are both irregular and offer divergent readings, or because (2) *P*, although regular, offers an unsatisfactory reading which is therefore probably *not* that of *x*, or because (3) *P* lacks the line and thus causes uncertainty as to whether it was ever present in *x*.<sup>17</sup> We shall therefore eliminate these 50 cases (13 for Sample 1, 18 for Sample 2, 19 for Sample 3), for we cannot confidently state that their *x* prototypes, which are uncertain, were irregular. The probabilities are, in fact, that many of these readings were quite regular in *x*, for it is frequently easy to suggest regularizing emendations. The following examples are offered:

*Remis ad deus autres e od eus meint baron*; *P: Caulus e li autre* (Sample 1, cf. RAlx II 2034)

(Emend: *Remis ad a deus autres?*)

*E sa gent se traient arere come unt devisé*; *P: E traie sa g.a.* (Sample 1, cf. RAlx II 2084)

(Emend: *E sa gent traie arere?*)

*Meint escu i out percé e meinte lance peçaie*; *P: M.e.i percent* (Sample 2)

(Emend: *Meint escu out percé?*)

*Deus beau sire peres rei del ciel gloriüs*; *P: Ohi d.de c.s.p.g.* (Sample 3)

17. This is particularly true of a bloc of six lines at the end of Sample 2, absent from *P* and very possibly added by the *z* redaction.

*Alisandre asist la cité environ; P: Alix' ad assis* (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2030)

(Emend: *Alisandres asist?*)<sup>18</sup>

K'il issi de sa terre e il lui f[e]rad present; P: K'is.fors d.s.t.i.l.f.p. (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2170)

*Tant ad quassé heaumes e haubercs desartir; P: T.a.h.q.* (Sample 2)

(Emend: *Tant ad fet quasser heaumes?*)

*Mes la terre Darie e l'auoir oi coueité; P: M.l.t.arveie e l'a.c.* (Sample 3)

*Deu nostre sire en soit gracé; P lacks* (Sample 1, RAlix lacks)

*Nul nes poet blamer ki nul ben entent; P lacks* (Sample 2)

*Tant gunfanon rumpu tant gleive pescé; P lacks* (Sample 3)

The elimination of the above-mentioned 50 cases leaves us a residue of 27 hemistichs (6 in Sample 1, 11 in Sample 2, 10 in Sample 3) where the agreement of *z* and *P* in irregular meter requires us to regard the irregularities in question as having been present in the *x* redaction. Thus the amount of metrical abnormality assigned to *x* is approximately nine per cent. This indicates that the redactor of *x* must have been reasonably well schooled in the art of versification, and yet must have deviated from standard continental practice in certain limited instances. An attempt at classifying his deviations may tell us whether they give evidence of any consciously altered canon. We list them under four types, numbering each example.

Type I—first hemistich short:

(1) *Les Gregeis purpernent le plein e la rivere* (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2160)

(2) *Si le coup ne venge ne se prise un buton* (Sample 2)

(3) *Puis escrie en haut vengé sui del gloton* (Sample 2)

(4) *Ferent les Gadreins e tüent a dolo<sup>r</sup>*<sup>19</sup> (Sample 2)

(5) *Tut dreit vers Darie a pris son eirement* (Sample 2)

(6) *Einz sui niez de Perse al chief vers Orient* (Sample 3)

(7) *E de vus oscire fui ben acoragé* (Sample 3)

Type II—first hemistich long:

(8) *Rei donez mai autre chose or ou argent ou dras* (Sample 1, cf. RAlix II 2122)

18. Here is the sole instance, within our three samples, where metrical irregularity seems to proceed from the loss of a flexional *-s*. Although both *C* and *D* write *Alisandre* in full without *-s*, and although *P*'s reading (an alteration?) requires resolution of the abbreviation also without *-s*, these are not sufficient indications that the name stood without final *-s* in the *x* redaction (where, in fact, it can also have been abbreviated).

19. In some few instances the hemistich which is not under consideration has been given the form it presumably had in *x*.

- (9) *La veïsez tantes lances e tanz escuz croissir* (Sample 2)
- (10) *Kar nul ne deit a seignor en le champ faillir*<sup>20</sup> (Sample 2)
- (11) *Cil le meinent as herberges mut ignement*<sup>21</sup> (Sample 3)

Type III—second hemistich short:

- (12) *Si ont forment illoec des Gregeis parlé* (Sample 1, RAlx lacks)
- (13) *S'Alisandre nus prent mal auom erré* (Sample 1, cf. RAlx II 2078)
- (14) *E manda par tuz sens socurs e aïe* (Sample 1, cf. RAlx II 2143)
- (15) *Les rens i fet fremir e tut le blanzon* (Sample 2)
- (16) *Il lui trenche le quer boïle e reïgnon* (Sample 2)
- (17) *A gentil rei beau sire fet Eumenedun* (Sample 2)
- (18) *Kar nul ne deit a seignor*<sup>22</sup> *en le champ faillir* (Sample 2)
- (19) *Le duc s'est arestu en la maistre rue* (Sample 2)
- (20) *Gaain quidai aver od mon hardement* (Sample 3)
- (21) *Cil le meinent as herberges*<sup>23</sup> *mut ignement* (Sample 3)

Type IV—second hemistich long:

- (22) *Quant cil orent la terre a Alisandre rendue* (Sample 1, cf. RAlx II 2136)
- (23) *Le fort escu a or e un espié mervillus* (Sample 3)
- (24) *Si fortune vousist fet l'eüsse richement* (Sample 3)
- (25) *Vus en fussez morz*<sup>24</sup> *e joe eüsse le kasement* (Sample 3)
- (26) *Le jur est declinez li solail est abessé* (Sample 3)
- (27) *S'il fust vostre enemis ferir vus deüst devant* (Sample 3)

It will be observed at once that no one of the four types predominates significantly over the others. Let us now examine the internal structure of the examples.

Of these twenty-seven hemistichs, six will be found to form part of a twelve-syllable line if:

- (a) the *caesura* is displaced to allow a 7+5 pattern (Examples 10 and 18);
- (b) a final atonic *e* is counted as the seventh syllable, with 7+5 pattern (Example 17);
- (c) a final atonic *e* is counted as the sixth syllable (Examples 1, 2, 7).

If we were to posit such line-patterns as admissible in the *x* redactor's metrical system, we should have to admit it surprising that they were employed with such extreme infrequency. In view of the vast preponderance of lines conforming to standard rules, it seems irrational to suppose

20. See also Example 18.

21. See also Example 21.

22. See also Example 10.

23. See also Example 11.

24. Reading of *x* uncertain.

that the redactor might have had sporadic recourse to a kind of supplementary canon; common sense seems to demand that the explanation for these six deviations be sought elsewhere, as indeed is necessary for the remaining twenty-one in our residue. How might these twenty-one hemistichs be read as regular? Five of them could be so regarded if we admit:

(a) hiatus of final atonic *e* with initial vowel of following word (Examples 3 and 16);

(b) syneresis, i.e., reduction to a single syllable of vowel hiatus within a word (Examples 9, 24, 27).

Even so, sixteen examples remain unclassifiable.

Since, as already noted, AN pronunciation early reduced interior hiatus, the three cases where syneresis has been suggested might be explained on the ground that the redactor used these words according to their spoken syllable-count. To this possibility we shall return later. Yet on the basis of pronunciation it would be impossible to account for Examples 3 and 16, where hiatus must be accepted, as well as for the sixteen unclassified hemistichs.

IV. The Texts Composed by AdeP, the Interpolator and Thomas.—We have listed above a residue of 27 irregular hemistichs in *x*, for which we found no explanation in the system of the *x* redactor. Does their presence indicate that the *x* redactor was merely repeating metrical irregularities already present in the work of the authors whose texts he was reproducing? So far as Sample 1, the FGa, is concerned, this question can be answered with certainty. If we turn to the AdeP text of the FGa, we shall find that the six irregularities in our *x* version were introduced by the redactor, who altered the original readings in the following ways:

(1) *Les Gregeis purpernent* le plein e la rivere; AdeP *Et l.g.p.*; omission of a word.

(8) *Rei donez mai* (C: *mai*; DP: *moy*) *autre chose* or *ou argent* or *dras*; AdeP *R.d.me a.c.*; substitution of tonic form of pronoun, which is much more common in this construction.

(12) *Si ont forment illoec des Gregeis parlé*; AdeP lacks; seven RAlix manuscripts offer a line at the point in the FGa text between u 2075 and 2076, but they are divergent among themselves and none agree with the *x* reading, which was probably inserted independently.

(13) *S'Alisandre nus prent mal auom erré*; AdeP *m.avromes e.*; substitution of more frequent form of the first plural.

(14) *E manda par tuz sens socurs e aüe*; AdeP *et s.e.a.*; word omitted.

(22) Quant cil orent la terre a *Alisandre rendue*; AdeP t.al.r.; addition of preposition in alternative dative construction.

Thus the irregularities of the *x* FGa are to be viewed as slips on the part of the *x* redactor, rather than as actual metrical violations committed by the author (AdeP). Now the irregularities occurring in all three samples are of the same approximate number and nature. The parallel is impressive. It is normal to think that had Thomas and the Interpolator departed from continental rules, the results of their deviation would be manifested in a proportion of metrical irregularities in their sections of *x* substantially greater than in the FGa section.

The test for the FGa has shown the irregularities in *x* to be genuine errors of transmission, of just such a nature as the vast number of irregularities found in the *z* redaction and in manuscript C. Being by now fairly familiar with the types of error made, having observed them through the successive stages of our comparative study, we can even suggest, in many of the residual irregular hemistichs of Samples 2 and 3, the probable underlying readings of the Interpolator and Thomas. Thus, for example:

- (2) *Si le coup ne venge* (S.ja l.c.n.v.?)
- (3) *Puis escrie en haut* (P.escria e.h.?)
- (4) *Ferent les Gadreins* (F.si l.g.?)
- (5) *Tut dreit vers Darie* (T.dreitement v.d.?)
- (6) *Einz sui niez de Perse* (E.s.joe n.d.p.?)
- (7) *E de vus oscire* (E.ja d.v.o.?)
- (10) *Kar mul ne deit a seignor* (K.n.n.d.s.?)
- (11) *Cil le meinent as herberges* (Quil<sup>25</sup> m.a.h.?)
- (15) *e tut le blanzon* (e tres-t.l.b.?)
- (17) *fet Eumenidum* (a f.e.?)
- (18) *en le champ faillir* (e.mi l.c.f.?)
- (19) *en la maistre rue* (e.mi l.m.r.?)
- (20) *od mon hardement* (o.tut m.h.?)
- (21) *mut igneement* (tost<sup>26</sup> e i.?)
- (23) *e un espié mervillus* (sun e.m.?)
- (26) *li solail est abessé* (l.s.a.?)<sup>27</sup>

The above-suggested emendations are all in harmony with their surrounding context. It is significant that metrically regular readings seem to underlie irregular ones in much the same proportion in all three

25. *P* actually reads *Qu'il le m.*, and the context of the previous line confirms the reconstruction, i.e.: *Li reis prist le Persant e as serganz le rent.*

26. *P* actually reads *tost i.*

27. The complete line reads in C: *Le jur est declinez li solail est abessez*, where the C scribe, considering the construction faulty, wrote *-ez* instead of *-é* at the expense of the rhyme.



samples, including Sample 2, the Bridge. Now this should be true, seemingly, only if the *x* redactor, at the moment all three portions of text passed under his hand, was reproducing all three from a pre-existing redaction—that is to say if this individual, whose metrical system was as we have seen imperfect, were *reproducing* the FGa and Thomas texts but *composing* the Bridge, it is probable that a larger number of metrical irregularities would appear in that Bridge than in the other two texts. Precisely here, therefore, is an indication that the *x* redactor did not compose the Bridge, in other words that he was not the same person as the Interpolator, who we must assume did compose the Bridge. Consequently, in answer to the problem raised above in connection with the diagram of manuscript relations, the Interpolator is to be associated with the stage “A” rather than the stage “x.”

One important point remains: for five of our residual examples (9, 16, 24, 25, 27) an underlying metrically regular reading does not readily suggest itself; but it will be observed at once that four out of these five hemistichs contain a form of the imperfect subjunctive of a verb which in standard OF has interior vowel hiatus. Could the early AN reduction of such hiatus in speech have led these AN authors to treat the hiatus as reduced in metrical composition so far as forms of the imperfect subjunctive are concerned? In the work of the Interpolator and even more in that of Thomas, past participles and non-verb forms conserve internal hiatus where it occurs, but not a single case appears in our samples where regular meter establishes non-reduction of hiatus in the imperfect subjunctive. Along with the four cases in our residue, the following C (and z) hemistichs are the only hemistichs of Samples 2 and 3 employing forms of the imperfect subjunctive of such verbs:

*A lui ki de vus preïst*<sup>28</sup> Alisandre vengement (Sample 3)

*E mort m'eüst si ne fust li blancs hauberc maillé* (Sample 3)

*Si eüsse joe reis fet ne brusast mis espié* (Sample 3)

In the previous stage of our study we had not been obliged to attribute irregular meter to *x* in these instances, for comparison with *P* showed that in the first case the *x* reading was uncertain, that in the second it could have begun the line without *E*, and that in the third it need not have included the word *reis*. However, already in *z* all three of these hemistichs become regular if the forms of the imperfect subjunctive are treated as reduced; in like manner our residual examples 9, 24, and 27 become regular, and example 25 lacks only this treatment to be emended, i.e., it might have read . . . *e j'eusse kasement*.

28. The context shows that this form is an imperfect subjunctive and not a past definite.



If we should accept that Thomas and the Interpolator, while normally preserving hiatus, already reduced it in forms of the imperfect subjunctive, this renders it possible to assume that their versification in every way accorded with the twelve-syllable continental system. There is therefore no proof, so far as we can judge from the accessible material, that any at all of the metrical irregularities of manuscript *C* were present in Thomas' original poem or in the Interpolator's own version of the Bridge. It may be that some were there present. The farther back however that we go, the greater is the diminution in the number of deviations, and we are therefore justified in concluding that if there were any deviations whatever in the original texts, the number was almost negligible.

In a general consideration of AN metrical procedure, a principal factor is the difference between the background and *milieu* of AN and standard French poetic composition. There are manifold evidences that one of the features most strongly emphasized in the training of continental writers and even scribes was a strict observance of the canon of syllable-count. In continental French works preserved for us in various redactions and manuscripts, this fact is revealed in striking fashion. In the case of the majority of scribes the syllable-count is kept normal, or if need be restored to normal, even if this be at the expense of the meaning. The fact remains however that even on the continent pronunciation had widely deviated; the speaking of such sounds as unstressed *e* or flec-tional *s* had undergone a breakdown far beyond the stage represented by conventional versification, so that already at the peak of standard OF literature the versification represents, as is so often true, an archaic stage of the spoken speech. We know that changes in the pronunciation of AN were more rapid in their progress than they were in continental circles of standard French. In the absence of equally widespread and equally influential centers for schooling in the conventions of writing the language, it is natural that spoken French in England should have exercised more influence on writing and poetic composition than on the continent.

If we were to attempt, then, a general historical view of AN versification, we seem justified in suggesting three successive stages or epochs. It would be risky to assign actual date-limits to these epochs, which shade into one another in a single continuous process of decline, but they might be conceived in the main as follows:

*First Epoch.* AN literature is under the domination of continental French, authors are well trained in their calling, and they practice

standard versification; scribal writing remains close to the conventions, there is to be found a minimal number of metrical deviations, and these deviations are not due to conscious departure from rule.

*Second Epoch.* As familiarity with the metrical conventions weakens, the existence of accepted duplicate forms and spellings with no distinction in meaning (*com:come, k'il:ke il*) renders scribes indifferent to fine points of prosody so far as their spellings are concerned, but when reciting verse, readers could, and probably did, pronounce in such a way as to conserve the metrical count.

*Third Epoch.* Scribal writing, released from the conventions and wholly dominated by actual pronunciations, produces many lines which, measured by continental standards, are ametric. The scribes may, to some extent, still feel the verse to be metrical, but the feeling is becoming distinctly obscured, and this contributes to the decline of writing French poetry in England and to the end of AN literature.

It is possible that the inferences resulting from our study of the RTCh might be usefully employed to test attempts to schematize AN versification which have been made on the basis of texts furnishing fewer means of control. Such an attempt is that of Hilding Kjellman in his edition of Denis Piramus' *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei* (VSEd),<sup>29</sup> an octosyllabic poem composed in the twelfth century and preserved in a single manuscript of the fourteenth. This means that Kjellman has had to draw his conclusions with regard to the metrics of an AN author from a version posterior by nearly two hundred years, without the benefit of any critical apparatus to throw light on such intervening redactions as must surely have existed. What are these conclusions?

Like most AN manuscripts, that of the VSEd offers very numerous lines showing more or less than the requisite syllable-count. Kjellman works, however, on the clear assumption that the author, Denis Piramus, followed the principles of standard octosyllabic verse. Thus every type of emendation within an editor's scope is made, on the ground that readings which appear to falsify the meter are not to be attributed to him, but to be regarded as due to subsequent alterations made by copyists intervening between original and end-manuscript. The emendations made by Kjellman are of the following general types:<sup>30</sup> (a) Re-

29. *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei, poème anglo-normand du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Denis Piramus*, 1935 [Göteborgs Kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar]. Jeanroy has said, in a review of this publication (*Romania* LXII [1936], 399): "Les chapitres sur la versification et la langue marqueront une date dans l'histoire des études anglo-normandes."

30. See Kjellman, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxxii-cxxxvi.

turn to an earlier linguistic stage of AN through the restitution or suppression, according to etymology, of an atonic *e* either final, inter-consonantal, or in hiatus; and through the reintroduction of older morphological forms in place of neologisms, etc. (b) Elimination of scribal vagaries through resubstitution of alternate forms of doublets; insertion of words assumed to have been omitted and suppression of dispensable words (mostly monosyllables such as conjunctions, articles, pronouns); change of verb-tenses, rectification of passages containing violations of conventional rules of elision and enclisis, and the like.

After all such possible corrections have been made, there remains in the VSEd manuscript text a residue of ametric lines which resist regularization through any of the procedures outlined above. With regard to these lines Kjellman concludes that the author was employing AN dialectalisms not acceptable in standard French literary composition. No consistency, however, is detected in the relative use of standard and AN traits. Thus, if the meter is to be preserved, it is assumed that in the work of Denis Piramus, himself, there were present: (a) Occasional reduced hiatus of *e* with following tonic vowel, notably in past participles and forms of the imperfect subjunctive; (b) Occasional suppression of an etymological syllabic *e* between consonants, but on the other hand frequent insertion of a spurious *e*; (c) Failure to assign syllabic value to final atonic *e* followed by a word with consonantal initial, but, on the other hand, occasional counting as syllabic of a final atonic *e* before a word with vocalic initial (thus producing hiatus); (d) Occasional union of a final vowel and the initial vowel of a following word in a single syllable (synalepha).—It might be that fewer of these dialectal lapses, which certainly do not attribute to Denis Piramus much consistency in his written language-habits, could be ascribed to posterior sources if there were, as in the case of the RTCh, concrete evidence as to the nature of these intermediate stages of the text.

Furthermore, from the testimony of still other lines whose apparent metrical irregularity cannot be explained in the above manner, Kjellman is led to conclude that Denis Piramus employed certain features of internal line-structure not current in continental practice; for example, several lines are so built that the fourth syllable has a stressed vowel that is non-final, or an unstressed vowel that is either initial, medial or final. These patterns presuppose a displacement of the *caesura* in either direction, and the acceptance of schemes of 5+3 or 3+5 syllables, not to mention occasional crossings resulting in short lines of 4+3 or 3+4. In this connection Kjellman accepts that Denis Piramus was "peu

habitué aux règles de la versification française."<sup>31</sup> But the moment this admission is made, there is ground to hesitate over "restoring" the meter of dozens of lines on the supposition that they were strictly metric in the work of an author who, Kjellman declares in another place, "connaissait bien les principes de la versification française, tels qu'ils étaient appliqués sur le continent."<sup>32</sup> If any inference is to be drawn from our study of the RTCh which might be applicable to AN authors in general, it supports this last statement and casts doubt upon Kjellman's criterion of judging an author's versification on the basis of internal line-structure. It is here, above all, that comparative evidence drawn from more VSEd material, had it been at Kjellman's disposal, might well have shown that certain irregular line-patterns were not attributable to the author but were, as they appeared to be in the RTCh, chance results of poor scribal execution. In a recent review<sup>33</sup> of Kjellman's work, Professor Ewert has already taken the same stand, saying in effect that "In works of this kind the analysis of the internal structure of the line provides a most precarious criterion for textual criticism and . . . the 'regularity' of the text as presented by the editor is to a considerable extent spurious. The elimination of late Anglo-Normanisms in the interests of a 'regularization' of the metre is similarly dangerous. . . . The precise dating of Anglo-Normanisms is a hazardous undertaking. . . . Features which conflict with an ill-defined metrical system have too often been condemned as scribal and late and have been eliminated, leaving an expurgated text which has then been dated and made to serve as a correct picture of Anglo-Norman usage of the time."<sup>34</sup>

31. See Kjellman, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

32. See Kjellman, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix.

33. *Medium Aevum* viii (1939), 210-15.

34. W. H. Trethewey, in his edition of *La Petite Philosophie*, (Anglo-Norman Texts, 1, Oxford, 1939), also handles the problem of AN versification (pp. xlv-xlviii), and handles it with competence (cf. a review of the work by M. D. Legge, *Modern Language Review* xxxv [1940], 96-97). Although he has as many as seven manuscripts to work from, Trethewey's is a less exhaustive attempt than Kjellman's to systematize and interpret metrical peculiarities and to make extensive emendations in the meter of the text. The editor's avoidance of some of the knottier problems is however made advisedly, and with the promise of a subsequent special study to be devoted wholly to the versification of the *Petite Philosophie*, which it is hoped will throw further light on the general question. As regards the lines which he leaves ametric in his edition, Trethewey says: "For most of these lines one or more of the MSS offer an octosyllabic variant, which creates a strong presumption that many of these lines were regular in the original text. Nevertheless it is impossible to absolve the author from partial responsibility for the varying length of the line." He nonetheless concludes that this early thirteenth-century author had a thorough acquaintance with continental rules for octosyllabic verse and that, although he seems to have deviated sporadically from these rules, he did so deliberately and could have adhered to them completely if he had considered it desirable or necessary.

Professor Ewert believes that "It is . . . essential that there should be no doubt as to the metrical rules observed by the author," and states that "Whatever else they were, they were not those of twelfth-century Continental poets." He is undoubtedly prudent in proposing no criterion of his own for determining the metrical rules for Denis Piramus; the present writer is not prepared, either, to suggest what they were for that individual author.

This writer does, however, deem it justifiable to offer a tentative generalization on the basis of the foregoing study. He is fully aware of probable individual errors and uncertainties in his interpretation of data confined, indeed, within three relatively small samples of text. Nevertheless he believes that, thanks to the relative extensiveness of controlling guides, this study of the *Fuerre de Gadres* interpolation present in the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* points clearly to successive stages in Anglo-Norman twelve-syllable versification, and just as clearly indicates that during the earlier Anglo-Norman period the governing rules were substantially those of continental verse. He further believes that the progressively increasing deviations have been shown to be explicable as the result of ever decreasing success in protecting a conventional pronunciation and inflection against the inroads of spoken Anglo-Norman. The versification in the *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* cannot be successfully interpreted in terms of a new Anglo-Norman canon, for it represents not an evolution but a disintegration.

FREDERICK B. AGARD

Princeton University

## VOLTAIRE AND FIRMIN ABAUZIT

FULLY AWARE OF THE TEMERITY of the *Dictionnaire philosophique* and conscious of the persecution threatening its author, Voltaire wrote to D'Alembert on October 12, 1764, that the problem was no longer a laughing matter; the dangerous book was being attributed to him:

Il est très-vrai que cet ouvrage est de plusieurs mains. L'article *Apocalypse* est tout entier d'un M. Abauzit, si vanté par Jean-Jacques;<sup>1</sup> je crois vous l'avoir déjà dit. Je crois aussi vous avoir mandé . . . que M. Abauzit est le patriarche des ariens de Genève. Son *Traité sur l'Apocalypse* court depuis longtemps en manuscrit chez tous les adeptes de l'arianisme. En un mot, il est public que l'article *Apocalypse* est de lui.<sup>2</sup>

Moreover the article "Messie" was by Polier de Bottens and Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, had written "Enfer." Several persons were responsible for assembling the documents and Voltaire admitted that he might have been one of these.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout October and November, Voltaire repeated his story insistently to his correspondents,<sup>4</sup> avowing the authorship of several harmless articles, "destinés autrefois à l'Encyclopédie,"<sup>5</sup> but denying responsibility for the book as a whole. Until recently critics have generally assumed that Voltaire was deliberately and completely misrepresenting the facts in order to assure his own safety. Not long ago Professors Wade and Torrey published an article indicating how closely Voltaire and Polier de Bottens collaborated in the production of the article "Messie."<sup>6</sup> Polier did, in fact, write such an article at the instigation and with the help of Voltaire who finally edited it for the *Dictionnaire philosophique*. But, according to Professors Wade and Torrey, "when one considers how little was left of the original contribution one must conclude that Voltaire, editor, was really publishing his own work."<sup>7</sup>

The question of Voltaire's editorship or authorship and the eternal

1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. D. Mornet, 4 vols., Paris, Hachette, 1925, IV, 4.

2. Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. L. Moland, Paris, Garnier, 1877-85, XLIII, 344. Hereafter will be referred to by volume and page number only.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, 345-346, 346-347, 349, 355, 356-357, 359, 361, 364, 372, 375.

5. XLIII, 355: these were "Amour," "Amour-propre," "Amour socratique," "Amitié," "Guerre," "Gloire."

6. Ira Wade and Norman L. Torrey, "Voltaire and Polier de Bottens," *RR*, xxxi (April, 1940), 147-155.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

problem of his so-called "protective lying" arise once again with relation this time to the article "Apocalypse." Did Voltaire have any justification for maintaining so firmly that the venerable octogenarian of Geneva, Firmin Abauzit, was its author? Raymond Naves, in his *Voltaire et l'Encyclopédie*, contends that of all the supposed collaborators "seul Polier, avec le fameux article *Messie*, a une certaine réalité."<sup>8</sup> But the text of Abauzit's *Discours historique et critique sur l'Apocalypse*,<sup>9</sup> published in 1770, and the facts relevant to its composition and publication reveal that Voltaire's assertions of Abauzit's complicity may be at least as valid as his statement concerning Polier.

Firmin Abauzit was born at Uzès in 1679. His parents were Protestant, so that after 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes made it necessary for his widowed mother to hide the six-year-old Firmin and his younger brother, Bonaventure, from the church authorities who wished to impose a Catholic education upon the children. They were eventually discovered and put into the *Collège d'Uzès*, until in 1689 the mother managed to smuggle them out of the country, sending them to their paternal grandfather in Geneva. Here she finally joined them after spending some time in prison for her obstinacy. So at the age of ten, Firmin Abauzit joined the ranks of the persecuted Protestants who started their lives anew in the freer air of Geneva. There he remained for seventy-seven years, being granted the right of citizenship in 1727. From the beginning of his school career he devoted himself particularly to the study of the natural sciences and literature, and later to theology. He consistently professed a lack of interest in metaphysics or the quarrels it might provoke; he preferred a quiet and retired life to one of strife and publicity. In 1698 he made the one extensive voyage of his career, including in his itinerary Germany, Holland and England, and making the acquaintance en route of Bayle, Jurieu and Basnages. On his return to Geneva he refused an appointment to the Academy, saying that his health and merit were not sufficient to warrant his acceptance. Between 1715 and 1726 he collaborated with the Genevan editors of a new translation into French of the New Testament. He finally accepted a position as *bibliothécaire surnuméraire* of the *Bibliothèque publique*. Throughout his long life, which came to a close on May 20, 1767,<sup>10</sup> he

8. Raymond Naves, *Voltaire et l'Encyclopédie*, Paris, Editions des Presses Modernes, 1938, p. 90.

9. Firmin Abauzit, *Œuvres diverses*, Londres, 1770-1773, 2 tomes en 1 vol., in-8.

10. Details of Abauzit's life are found in the *Eloges* by Béranger and Végobre in the London and Genevan editions of his works respectively: Abauzit, *op. cit.*, and *Œuvres de feu M. Abauzit*, Genève, C. Philibert et B. Chirol, 1770, in-8. See also: Jean Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève*, Genève, 1786, III, 63-83; P.-A. Sayous, *Le Dix-huitième Siècle à l'étranger*,



was respected and consulted by his contemporaries who, great and small alike, were consistent in their praise of both his knowledge and his modesty.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Firmin Abauzit seems to have led a serene life; he remained discreetly aloof from the political and philosophical quarrels of his more vociferous contemporaries, contenting himself with supplying them, when asked, with specific facts from his vast store of knowledge. More important still, he refrained from publishing any of his works in the course of his lifetime. With one exception, none of his writings appeared in print until 1770, three years after his death.<sup>12</sup>

The posthumous publications, however, contain materials and opinions of striking audacity. Abauzit's biographers, including the authors of the *Eloges* at the head of the editions of his works, nevertheless emphasized the fact that as well as being a respected scholar, he was a good and submissive Christian. But even before his death he was suspected of heterodoxy; in the 1760's an ugly rumor that Abauzit was a Socinian ruffled Geneva. His very good friend Charles Bonnet was responsible for the story, and Voltaire had early described Abauzit as "chef des ariens de Genève." Jean Senebier took particular pains to stifle the gossip, with the plea that because Abauzit was a good man he was a satisfactory Christian.<sup>13</sup> Such an argument would no doubt appeal to the *philosophes*, but it could hardly be expected to please the ministers of orthodox religion. Sayous was impressed<sup>14</sup> with the fact that Abauzit had retracted the heterodox statements of the *Discours . . . sur l'Apocalypse* which, though unpublished, caused him trouble during his lifetime. But, under the circumstances, his retractions do not necessarily prove much. Though his biographers are agreed on the exemplary virtues of Abauzit, they have not yet produced a convincing answer to Charles Bonnet's charge of Socinianism. To all outward appearances Abauzit during his life was a believer, but his works, particularly the *Discours . . . sur l'Apocalypse*, indicate that his orthodoxy may well have been a matter of appearances only.

---

Paris, 1861, I, 81-99; Albert de Montet, *Dictionnaire biographique des Genevois et des Vaudois*, 1877, I, 1-3.

11. He was consulted on many subjects, but particularly in matters of science and geography, by such men as Polier, Voltaire, the Président de Brosses, Jallabert, Pococke, even Newton and others. In addition to works mentioned in note 10, see: Yvonne Bézard, *Le Président de Brosses et ses amis de Genève*, Paris, Boivin, [1939], p. 7 and notes 1, 177, 186, 187, 189; and Paul Chaponnière, *Voltaire chez les Calvinistes*, Paris, Perrin, 1936, pp. 64-65; 72-73 and note 1.

12. *Infra*, p. 240.

13. Senebier, *op. cit.*, III, 71.

14. Sayous, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-93.



When Voltaire remarked that the manuscript of the *Discours* or *Traité*, as he called it, had been circulating "depuis longtemps,"<sup>15</sup> he was most certainly not exaggerating. For as early as 1732, Dr. Leonard Twells, vicar of Saint Mary's in Marlborough, London, had taken the trouble of printing a detailed refutation of Abauzit's work at the end of his *Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the New Testament in Greek and English*,<sup>16</sup> a fact noted by Végobre in 1770.<sup>17</sup> Examination of Twells' book reveals that the document in question must have been the same *Discours* which appeared nearly forty years later in the London edition of the *Œuvres diverses*. The English critic quoting liberally in English from the text before him, followed exactly, in his refutation, the order of Abauzit's argument. The quotations alone are sufficient to assure the identity of the two documents. Though the name of Abauzit was evidently unknown to Dr. Twells, the latter made quite clear his opinion of the Discourser from the very first. The anonymous writer was a blasphemer. In the preface to his book Dr. Twells spoke of a

Writer who chooses to call his work *A Discourse Historical and Critical on the Revelations ascribed to St. John*. Though he certainly might with more Truth and Propriety have given it the Title of *A Libel upon all the Antients that have spoken favorably of the Revelations ascribed to St. John*.<sup>18</sup>

His introduction added the following comments:

To what had been before advanced against the *Authority* and *Genuineness* of the *Revelations* . . . another nameless Writer has since added very much in a Tract entitled *A Discourse Historical and Critical on the Revelations ascribed to St. John*. A Tract contrived not only to ruin the Credit of that particular Book, but also to weaken the Testimony of the Fathers to sacred *Books* and *Authors* in general. To which End the Author has collected and occasionally inserted every Scandal upon the Ancients that came within the Compass of his Reading. So that the Discourse before us, though in Appearance levelled at a single Book of the *New Testament*, does in Consequence affect the *whole Canon*.<sup>19</sup>

Already this begins to look like material which might suit Voltaire's purposes. The manner in which it was composed and the process by which it happened to reach Dr. Twells is revealed to us by Abauzit

15. *Supra*, p. 236.

16. Leonard Twells, *A Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the New Testament in Greek and English*, Part third and last, London, Printed for R. Gosling . . . , 1732.

17. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., II, 299-301.

18. Twells, *op. cit.*, pp. iii-iv.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

himself. In 1766 he knew that his attitude on the *Apocalypse*, exposed in the circulating manuscript and publicized by Voltaire, had made his orthodoxy a matter of speculation. It was at this moment that Abauzit sent the following cautious statement to M. de Correvon:

M. Guill. Burnet, Gouverneur de la nouvelle York, fit un Commentaire anglois, appliquant les prédictions de St. Jean à l'église romaine & aux derniers temps; je lui répondis qu'il leur manquoit la preuve de leur canonicité, & j'ajoutai les principales preuves tirées de l'histoire. L'écrit fut remis au Docteur Twells à Londres, qui le traduisit en anglois, en y ajoutant une réfutation. M. le Professeur Polier à ma prière, empêcha en Hollande, dans la suite une impression de mon écrit; &, l'en ayant remercié, il me demanda comment j'entendois St. Jean. Je lui envoyai quelques feuilles, où je tâchai de montrer par les plus anciens que sa révélation fut écrite à Patmos sous Claude Néron, & j'en appliquai les prédictions à la ruine de Jérusalem.<sup>20</sup>

The most interesting statement in this letter is, of course, the reference to Polier and his rôle in preventing the publication of the *Discours*. It is apparent that Dr. Twells' endeavor "to do Justice to the *Fathers* against every *Calumny* of the *Discourser*,"<sup>21</sup> was successful to the point of influencing the Discourser to suppress his work. Senebier called Abauzit's letter naïve and assumed that "la réponse du Dr. Twells le satisfait puisqu'il empêcha l'impression de son ouvrage en Hollande."<sup>22</sup> Perhaps Senebier's assumption is even more naïve, or else is a bit of special pleading for Abauzit's orthodoxy. As further evidence of his essential conformity, Senebier draws particular attention to the later *Essai sur l'Apocalypse* which reversed many judgements of the early *Discours*.<sup>23</sup> The series of "feuilles" which Abauzit said he sent to Polier may have constituted all or part of this essay. In view of the general tone of the published works, it seems unlikely that this second article was more than an attempt to undo the damage done by the first to the author's heretofore excellent reputation. That Abauzit felt prudence to be the better part of valor is made clear by the fact that none of his works was printed after 1732 when he discovered how dangerous they were. One curious document was not repressed by Polier, however, and was published that year in a *Recueil de pièces de F. Abauzit et de Th. Chubb*. This was called *Résultat de quelques conférences tenues au sujet de la Religion Naturelle & de la Révélation Judaïque*,<sup>24</sup> a work so

20. Quoted from Senebier, *op. cit.*, III, 74.

21. Twells, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

22. Senebier, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Firmin Abauzit, *Mémoires concernant la théologie et la morale*, Amsterdam, H. Uytwerf, 1732, in-12.

unorthodox in its import that in 1770 Abauzit's London editor failed to include it in his text, deploring its inclusion in the earlier Genevan edition and insisting that Abauzit was not its author.<sup>25</sup> The Genevan editor who did publish it, cautiously remarked:

on ne doit pas mettre tout à fait sur le compte de notre Auteur les défauts qu'on pourrait y remarquer; ce morceau n'est pas entièrement & à proprement parler son ouvrage; il n'a fait que l'office de Rédacteur de ce qui s'étoit dit dans une société d'Amis, où à la vérité il devoit bien tenir sa partie.<sup>26</sup>

Whatever his opinions may have been, after this one venture into print, Abauzit subsided into a more prudent silence. He no longer broadcast his ideas on natural religion and he made several attempts to retract his heretical *Discours* on the Apocalypse. But the manuscript was in circulation before Voltaire ever came to Geneva, a fact which indicates that in this case Voltaire could hardly have had a hand in the conception and writing of the original tract as he did in the case of Polier's article "Messie." As a matter of fact, Voltaire was acquainted with Abauzit's manuscript several years before his own article appeared. Some time between 1759 and 1762, he wrote the following to Jacob Vernes: "... Voudriez-vous avoir la bonté de me reprêter l'Apocalypse du savant Abauzit? Vous me ferez un extrême plaisir. . . ." <sup>27</sup> Certainly this is evidence that Voltaire was early thinking of making use of Abauzit's erudition.

Sayous, in his *Dix-huitième Siècle à l'étranger*, devoted a whole chapter to Abauzit, discussing the *Discours* at some length. He said that Voltaire falsely attributed his article to the Genevan sage and maintained that comparison of the texts shows that if Voltaire ever really did see the *Discours*, "il n'avait su tirer de cette abondante érudition que l'étoffe de quelques facéties à sa convenance. . . ." <sup>28</sup> To prove his point he cited the following passage from Abauzit:

. . . Qu'un certain docteur Justin, par exemple, ait dit une chose, sans y avoir pensé, elle n'en vaut pas moins pour cela, et il ne faut pas désespérer qu'elle fasse fortune. A force de jeter le dé, elle rencontre le point favorable, gagne la multitude et s'empare de la créance publique, témoin la statue de Simon le Magicien. . . . <sup>29</sup>

25. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., I, v.

26. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, Genevan ed., p. xlvix.

27. F. Caussy, "Lettres à Jacob Vernes, Ministre du Saint Evangile," *RPL*, LI (1913), 322.

28. Sayous, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7.

29. Sayous, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Section 105 of the *Discours*.

He then compared this sentence with the following statement from the *Dictionary* article:

... de plus il [Saint Justin] prétend avoir vu les restes des petites maisons où furent enfermés les soixante et douze interprètes dans la phare d'Egypte du temps d'Hérode. Le témoignage d'un homme qui a eu le malheur de voir ces petites maisons, semble indiquer que l'auteur devait y être renfermé.<sup>30</sup>

This comparison would lead us to agree with Sayous that "personne ne reconnaîtra là le trait malicieux mais discret d'Abauzit."<sup>31</sup>

But we submit that Sayous was matching the wrong passages, and it is for this reason that reconsideration of both texts is necessary. Certain generalizations may perhaps be advanced at the start. It is apparent, in the first place, that Abauzit's *Discours* is approximately twenty times longer than Voltaire's article, the former covering 77 pages to the latter's four. This fact alone may seem sufficient to place total responsibility upon Voltaire. In the second place, one long paragraph of the short *Dictionary* article has no parallel in Abauzit's work. Again the evidence appears to contradict Voltaire's denial of authorship. But the remaining material presents some striking parallels which we should now examine in further detail.

Abauzit's introductory paragraphs, covering pages 249-253 of the London edition of his works, deal with the confusion of the books of the bible during the early years of Christianity, the silence of the early writers with regard to the *Apocalypse*, the suppositions of "le faux Prochore," and the opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Cerinthus and other heretics. None of this appears in the *Dictionary* article, which begins with St. Justin, the next person listed in the *Discours*. From here on, except where the *Dictionnaire* cuts Abauzit's material, the arguments of the two texts run parallel with one interpolation by Voltaire. How nearly identical both discussions are on occasion is indicated by this first paragraph on Justin which follows:

#### ABAUZIT

Justin Martir, qui écrivoit vers l'an 170<sup>32</sup> de Jésus Christ, est le premier qui ait fait mention de l'Apocalypse; ce qu'il y

#### VOLTAIRE

Justin le Martyr, qui écrivait vers l'an 270 de notre ère, est le premier qui ait parlé de l'Apocalypse;

30. References will be made to the critical text edited by J. Benda and R. Naves: Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 2 vols., Paris, Garnier, 1939, I, 43.

31. Sayous, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

32. Justin was martyred c. A.D. 165. Note that Voltaire's date is a century later than Abauzit's.

a de remarquable, c'est qu'il l'attribue à l'Apôtre S. Jean. Dans son Dialogue avec Tryphon, ce Juif lui demande s'il ne croit pas que Jérusalem doit être rétablie un jour? Justin répond que pour lui, il le croit ainsi avec tous les Chrétiens qui pensent juste, et il dit: Il y a eu parmi nous un certain personnage nommé Jean, l'un des douze apôtres de Jésus-Christ. Il a dit dans son Apocalypse que les fidèles passeront mille ans dans Jérusalem. C'est la seule fois que Justin cite L'Apocalypse dans ses ouvrages et il la cite pour prouver le regne de mille ans.<sup>33</sup>

il l'attribue à l'apôtre Jean l'Evangéliste; dans son dialogue avec Tryphon, ce Juif lui demande s'il ne croit pas que Jérusalem doit être rétablie un jour. Justin répond qu'il le croit ainsi avec tous les chrétiens qui pensent juste. Il y a eu, dit-il, parmi nous un certain personnage nommé Jean, l'un des douze apôtres de Jésus; il a prédit que des fidèles passeront mille ans dans Jérusalem.<sup>34</sup>

The obvious similarity of these two passages could hardly be an accident. There now follows in the *Dictionnaire* the one long paragraph which has no parallel in the *Discours*. Whereas Abauzit attempts to discredit the *Apocalypse* by pointing out that it was generally unacceptable during the early Christian era,<sup>35</sup> the author of the dictionary article, following Voltaire's usual method, tries to show that "ce regne de mille ans" was a belief common to the early Christians and the pagans of antiquity alike. He then gleefully summarizes Chapter XXI of the *Apocalypse* itself, making it seem like a very tall story indeed, nor does he fail to end his paragraph with a characteristic and sparkling turn of phrase.<sup>36</sup>

Continuing our comparison paragraph by paragraph, we find that from this point on through the section on Irenaeus, the *Dictionnaire* paraphrases Abauzit's *Discours* with accurate concision; the same stories are told on Justin in both texts and in the same order. The section which Sayous so scornfully asserts could not have been conceived by a man of Abauzit's dignity, but only by a frivolous Voltaire, may now be seen compared with a paragraph which unfortunately Sayous overlooked. Abauzit's irony is not so pointed as that of Voltaire, but his malice is, in the context, none the less quite clear:

33. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 253.

34. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 42.

35. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 253, 256 and *passim*.

36. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 42-43.

## ABAUZIT

Il s'étoit assuré par lui-même de l'histoire des LXX Interprètes, et de leur Divine Version faite au tems du Roi Hérode, des 70 cellules où ils avoient travaillé chacun à part, & de leur merveilleuse conformité jusqu'aux moindres termes. Toutes circonstances que S. Jérôme traite de fables mais sur lesquelles notre docteur insiste en faveur de la religion: "Ne vous imaginez pas, ô Grecs! que ce que nous vous disons soit une histoire faite à plaisir. Nous avons vu nous-mêmes dans la Phare d'Alexandrie, les vestiges des petites maisons," & n'étoit-ce pas là une preuve que les Septante qu'on y avoit enfermés étoient véritablement inspirés?<sup>37</sup>

This is a particularly good example of the way Voltaire pares Abauzit's discursive prose down to its essentials. It is apparent that he appreciates Abauzit's oblique humor: he borrows the joke, refurbishes it and turns it into a much more direct, much deadlier shaft against Justin.

Abauzit now expresses his scorn of Irenaeus as a witness to the authenticity of the Apocalypse at greater length and with less caution than does Voltaire. The ambiguity of the evidence received by the saint from the "vieillard" and the absurdity of his methods of proof are described to us together with other details not taken over by the *Dictionnaire*. Nor is Voltaire's pungent judgment of Irenaeus original in its essence. Its originality lies in the brilliancy with which he bound all of Abauzit's rambling witticisms into one compact, scintillating sentence—thus convincing his readers of the unhappy saint's incompetence. On a fraction of a page Voltaire accomplished what Abauzit did less well in the space of four.<sup>38</sup>

The next two pages of the *Discours* include material on Mélon, Apollonius and Theophilus which Voltaire omits altogether.<sup>40</sup> Voltaire's later reference to Mélon under the heading "Apocalypse" in the *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, has no bearing whatsoever upon

## VOLTAIRE

... de plus il prétend avoir vu les restes des petites maisons où furent enfermés les soixante et douze interprètes

dans la phare d'Egypte du temps d'Hérode. Le témoignage d'un homme qui a eu le malheur de voir ces petites maisons, semble indiquer que l'auteur devait y être renfermé.<sup>38</sup>

37. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 254-255.

38. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 43.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44; Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 255-259.

40. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 259-261.

Abauzit's discussion.<sup>41</sup> The *Dictionnaire* proceeds instead directly to the more important Clement of Alexandria, disposing of him in a sentence which adequately summarizes the subsequent detailed paragraphs of Abauzit's text. Where the *Dictionary* article merely refers to Clement's *Electa*, the *Discours* quotes and expounds upon it.<sup>42</sup>

The same process can be seen at work in the next section of both documents, each of which deals with Tertullian. Again Voltaire summarizes where Abauzit cites his sources, and again Voltaire shamelessly borrows even his witticism from Abauzit, sharpens it and thrusts it home. Voltaire's real mastery of the problems of editorship is made clear by a glance at this passage:

## ABAUZIT

La ville suspendue en l'air dont les Payens mêmes avoient été témoins, et qui ressembloit à la Jérusalem de l'Apocalypse, est un évènement fort singulier qui prouveroit d'un seul coup la Divinité de ce Livre. Il est fâcheux que le phénomène vint à se dissiper dès la pointe du jour, à mesure que les spectateurs commençoient à voir.<sup>44</sup>

## VOLTAIRE

. . . mais il prétend que cette Jérusalem commençait déjà à se former dans l'air, que tous les chrétiens et même les païens l'avaient vue pendant quarante jours de suite<sup>43</sup> à la fin de la nuit: mais malheureusement la ville disparaissait dès qu'il étoit jour.<sup>45</sup>

The same page of the *Dictionnaire* now includes also one sentence on Origen which once more is a summary of Abauzit's somewhat longer passage.<sup>46</sup> Following this Voltaire skips six pages of the *Discours* which gives an account of several of the lesser saints, the "Anti-Apocalypsaïres," and the "Anciens Docteurs" previous to St. Denys of Alexandria.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that Voltaire paused here at page 272 to pick up some phrases concerning Denys. However, these same phrases were taken from Denys himself by Abauzit who quotes them in the *Discours* on page 278. Either reference would have served Voltaire's purpose, the wording in each case being almost identical. Suffice it to note that Abauzit's first reference to Denys on page 272 is separated from a section wholly devoted to him beginning on page 277 by a discussion of Caius whom Voltaire does not mention at all. Pages

41. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique* 1, 332, notes.

42. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 261-262; Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 44.

43. Reference to forty days quoted by Abauzit from Tertullian (*Lib. 3 contra Marcion*), *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 264.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

45. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 44.

46. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 265-266.

47. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 266-272.



278–290 of the *Discours*, expanding the material on Denys, summarizing the arguments of the “saints-pères” and listing the contributions of a later series of minor saints and Church Fathers are also omitted by Voltaire who pushes on to a much more important topic, the Council of Laodicea.

The statement of the *Dictionnaire* that “le Concile de Laodicée, tenu en 360, ne compta point l'*Apocalypse* parmi les livres canoniques,”<sup>48</sup> adequately summarizes Abauzit's more specific and longer remarks.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, long before Voltaire noted it in his article, Abauzit had observed and commented upon the discrepancy between the stand taken by the Council and the fact that the *Apocalypse* was especially addressed to the Church of Laodicea.<sup>50</sup> Neither was it originally Voltaire's idea to point out that the same dignitaries who refused to accept the *Apocalypse* at Laodicea, nevertheless believed that Saint John was not yet quite dead and continued to turn over in his grave!<sup>51</sup>

Leaving this question, the text of the *Discours* now continues to undermine more of the lesser Fathers, the Alogians and the Latin authors with an impressive show of erudition. Voltaire, passing over this material which covers pages 292–297, proceeds to the next section on Sulpicius Severus. Here he cuts most of Abauzit's argument, which has its own interest as it shows the lonely Severus fighting to the last ditch for an opinion and a party which was rapidly being discredited. The tenets of the *Apocalypse*, says Abauzit, were no longer *à la mode* and Severus was fighting for a lost cause “lorsqu'il traite de fous & d'impies ceux qui rejettent l'*Apocalypse*.”<sup>52</sup> It is this phrase, slightly altered, which we find in the dictionary text.<sup>53</sup> But Voltaire wishes to create the contrary impression, namely that the opinion of the bigots was gaining strength despite orthodox opposition. So he precedes his statement about Severus with the following remark: “Mais ceux qui tenaient pour le regne de mille ans furent inébranlables dans leur opinion.”<sup>54</sup>

Having disposed of Sulpicius Severus, Abauzit now embarks on a very long and purposely confusing commentary upon ensuing councils and the later saints who discussed or failed to discuss the *Apocalypse*. The blatant contradictions evident from council to council and from

48. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 45.

49. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 290–291.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

51. *Ibid.*, cf. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 45.

52. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 297.

53. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 45.

54. *Ibid.*



saint to saint apparently delight the author of the *Discours* who allows them to multiply for 20 pages.<sup>55</sup> He then summarizes the results of the long controversy in the words of the Council of Toledo:

L'autorité de plusieurs Conciles . . . et les Décrets Synodaux des S. S. Evêques de Rome portent que l'Apocalypse est de Jean l'Evangéliste, & qu'il faut la recevoir parmi les Livres Divins.<sup>56</sup>

Voltaire doubtless felt that the multiplication of confusing details would bore rather than convince his readers. Besides, he wished his *Dictionnaire* to be portable. In any case, he cut all of this story, giving us only the following terse résumé:

Enfin après bien des doutes, après des oppositions de concile à concile, l'opinion de Sulpice Sévère a prévalu.

La matière ayant été éclaircie, l'Eglise a décidé que l'*Apocalypse* est incontestablement de Saint Jean; ainsi il n'y a pas d'appel.<sup>57</sup>

Having so solicitously inducted the Apocalypse into the Canon of the Scriptures, Voltaire was now ready to bring his article to a close. Abauzit, too, had come to the end of his story, but paused once more to devote seven pages to a discussion of the vagaries of public opinion as illustrated by the vicissitudes of the *Apocalypse*.<sup>58</sup> It is from this section that Sayous quotes to show that Voltaire could not have borrowed from Abauzit.<sup>59</sup> Actually Voltaire looked past these particular pages to the final paragraph of the *Discours*, and even here he found material he could use. If the tone seems purely Voltairean when the author of the *Dictionnaire* observes that each Christian community and party had interpreted the *Apocalypse* to its own advantage, the reader needs only to look at the beginning of Abauzit's concluding paragraph to discover the same idea expressed in almost the same terms.<sup>60</sup> The slight variation here is most significant, however, as it indicates a fundamental difference in the positions of the French Catholic Voltaire and the Genevan Protestant Abauzit. This divergence becomes patently evident for the first and only time as the two works on the *Apocalypse* draw to their close. Voltaire changes the following statement of Abauzit's text: "les Français réfugiés [trouvent dans l'*Apocalypse*] ce qui est arrivé en France."<sup>61</sup> Cautiously Voltaire makes his own passage

55. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 298-318.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.

57. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 1, 45.

58. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 318-325.

59. *Supra*, pp. 241-242.

60. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., 1, 325-6.

61. *Ibid.*, 1, 326.

read: "les réformés de France [y ont trouvé] le regne de Charles IX et la régence de Catharine de Médicis."<sup>62</sup> There is a degree of safety in the use of the past tense and in specific reference to events long since accomplished. The contrast between the Catholic and Protestant becomes clear cut when we compare the final sentences of the two texts. Voltaire ends a strong article with a weak criticism of Bossuet and Newton which he was later to strengthen in his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*.<sup>63</sup> But Abauzit has saved his master stroke for the finish and for the Roman Catholic Church:

Il n'y a que l'Eglise catholique qui se soit bornée aux trois premiers siècles, dans lesquels elle soutient que tout a été accompli: comme si elle craignoit qu'en descendant plus bas, elle ne vit l'Ante-Christ dans la personne de son Chef.<sup>64</sup>

Perhaps Voltaire envied Abauzit the ability safely to make such a statement, but for him to have done so would of course have been the sheerest folly. It is doubtful, too, that he felt such a specific antipathy for the Pope. Certainly no echo of Abauzit's prejudice in this matter appeared in the dictionary article.

It should by now be apparent that Abauzit's *Discours historique et critique sur l'Apocalypse* bears more than a faint resemblance to the article "Apocalypse" of the *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*. We have not seen a manuscript of the *Discours* but it is clear that from 1732 on it had been circulating in manuscript form. It is therefore quite probable that Voltaire was telling the truth when he said that "deux conseillers du conseil de Genève . . . ont reconnu mot pour mot l'extrait de l'article *Apocalypse* de M. Abauzit. . ."<sup>65</sup> If the published *Discours* of 1770 differs from the manuscript in Voltaire's possession, it nevertheless resembles the dictionary article closely enough to establish the relationship between the two works.

How shall we now judge Voltaire's denial of authorship? It is perhaps begging the question to judge him at all. In at least two instances he differed quite radically in opinion from the author of the *Discours*. There is no question but that he made the material his own, cutting and refurbishing it to suit his purposes. On the other hand, we have here a clear case of plagiarism. Abauzit did not, like Polier, write his *Discours* with the inspiration and help of the exegete, Voltaire. He wrote it long before there was any patriarch at Ferney, when Voltaire was still in France writing *Zaïre* and his *Lettres philosophiques*. How Abauzit

62. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, I, 45.

63. *Ibid.*, I, 332; notes.

64. Abauzit, *Œuvres*, London ed., I, 326.

65. XLIII, 359.

felt about Voltaire's use of his name is largely a matter of speculation. It seems evident that he could not have denied Voltaire's contention with any degree of conviction. He had never tried to deny responsibility for the unpublished *Discours*. His concern for his reputation and security was manifested in his letter of 1766 to M. de Correvon.<sup>66</sup> His silence was probably a matter of caution; he can hardly be censured if, at the age of 85, he did not wish to endanger his peace and comfort, and in any case, prudence had long since become a habit.

Whether Voltaire or Abauzit was the author of the dictionary article depends at last upon the definition of terms. To attribute it to either man alone on the basis of the above evidence now seems an inaccurate procedure. It would therefore be kind to say that when Voltaire shifted the *whole* responsibility to Abauzit, he was being inaccurate. He was most emphatically not lying, however, when on October 20, 1764 he wrote to Président Hénault that the article "Apocalypse" "est un extrait de M. Abauzit, l'un des plus savants hommes de l'Europe et des plus modestes; . . ."<sup>67</sup> He was, moreover, being extremely modest himself and perhaps a bit sly when he added: "mais l'extrait est très-mal fait."<sup>68</sup> On the contrary, it is the excellence of his editorship which makes the article indubitably Voltaire's. It is sparkling and incisive, bearing none of the marks of pedantry so often characteristic of Abauzit. Yet his debt to the author of the *Discours* is manifest. It would indeed be stretching the point to maintain that Abauzit, like Polier, actively collaborated with Voltaire. His residence in Geneva, the opinions he held in common with the *philosophe* and his failure to voice any protest against Voltaire's use of his name, are facts which make plausible the belief in his passive collaboration. In the last analysis, his complicity is evident, and Voltaire's reiterated claims upon him should now be accepted, for the most part, with greater charity than heretofore.

MINA WATERMAN

66. *Supra*, pp. 240.

67. XLIII, 357.

68. *Ibid.*

## MADAME DU CHÂTELET, VOLTAIRE AND PLATO

IN THE COLLECTION of Voltaire's books in the Leningrad Public Library<sup>1</sup> there is a copy of Dacier's translation of some of the dialogues of Plato.<sup>2</sup> On the title page, presumably in the hand of Wagnière, who arranged the library after its purchase by Catherine the Great, is the statement that this book contains marginal notes in the hand of Madame du Châtelet, with some additional remarks by Voltaire. This edition is evidently an Amsterdam reprint of the translation which Dacier published in Paris in 1699, in the same year that Madame Dacier published her translation of the Iliad. The translations are accompanied by a great deal of commentary by the translator, and are preceded by a "Discours sur Platon," and a "Vie de Platon."

Through the Committee on Photographic Reproductions of the Modern Language Association, with the coöperation of the Public Library of Leningrad, we have been able to obtain photostatic copies of the pages containing marginal notes. The two volumes contain in all one hundred and sixty-two marginalia of varying length. They comprise criticisms, usually disapproving, of the opinions and facts given by Dacier in his "Vie de Platon," occasionally supplying additional facts. There are criticisms of the dialogues themselves and of the text of the translation.

Although the note on the title page tells us that some of the comments are by Voltaire, there are few in which his clearcut handwriting is plainly recognizable. Comparison with copies of Madame du Châtelet's writing<sup>3</sup> seems to justify the conclusion that most of the marginalia are in her hand. Further examination of the comments complicates the

1. See G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey, "Voltaire's Books: A Selected List," *MP*, xxvii (1929), 10.

2. *Les Œuvres de Platon, traduites en français avec des remarques et la vie de ce philosophe avec l'exposition des principaux dogmes de sa philosophie*. Amsterdam, Estienne Roger, 1700, 2v. in-8. It contains the following dialogues:

### Volume I

Le Premier Alcibiade, de la Nature humaine  
Le Second Alcibiade, de la Prière  
Le Theages, de la Sagesse  
L'Eutyphron, de la Sainteté  
    Abrégé du premier Alcibiade  
    Abrégé du second Alcibiade  
    Abrégé de l'Eutyphron

### Volume II

L'Apologie de Socrate  
Le Criton, de ce qu'il faut faire  
Le Phédon, de l'Immortalité de l'âme  
Le Laches, de la Valeur  
Le Protagoras, contre les Sophistes  
Les Rivaux, de la Philosophie

3. Very kindly supplied in photostats by I. O. Wade, of Princeton.

problem of distinguishing the authorship of the notes. Occasionally there is a phrase like "quel impertinent galimatias" which is so characteristic that one would assign it to Voltaire even if the handwriting in this particular case did not seem equally clear. In many other cases points of view and manners of expression which we associate with Voltaire do not appear to be in his hand. It seems likely, for instance, that Voltaire rather than Madame du Châtelet would be very critical of Dacier's use of sources, since he was much preoccupied with the problem of historical writing during the years of their association. We have, moreover, no evidence that Madame du Châtelet knew enough Greek to criticise the translation, and although the textual criticisms are usually of a minor nature, Greek phrases are quoted to justify the objections.

The comments in the marginal notes can be divided into several categories, and their significance will perhaps be clearer if they are so divided rather than taken up in order. Of the 162 marginal notes, 71 deal with Dacier's life of Plato, calling attention to misinterpretations and to inaccuracies in matters of fact. The rest are comments on the dialogues themselves or on Dacier's notes to the dialogues. The first point of attack is the association of Plato with Christianity, not in the sense that Platonism influenced Christian thought, but that Plato was himself a prophet of Christianity comparable to the Hebrew prophets, and that he prepared the pagans to receive the revelation. This tradition can be traced to St. Augustine and before him to Justin, but apparently the direct influence on Dacier was the Abbé Claude Fleury. Dacier says:

Cette conformité de Platon avec les Dogmes de l'Evangile porta l'année dernière un sçavant et pieux Ecclesiastique à en donner un petit extrait que le public a fort bien reçu: cet extrait fait dans le Palais et sous les yeux d'un des meilleurs et des plus sçavants Archevêques que Dieu ait donnez à son Eglise, est un grand éloge pour la Doctrine de ce Philosophe . . .

("Discours sur Platon").<sup>4</sup>

The marginal comment identifies this "sçavant et pieux Ecclesiastique" as "l'abbé Fleury auteur de l'histoire ecclésiastique." The *Histoire Ecclésiastique* appeared in 1692-1693, which was not "l'année dernière" in 1699, but may have been when Dacier wrote this preliminary sketch of Plato. In any case, Dacier was much impressed by the parallels between Plato and Christianity and pre-Christian prophets, and his readers, Madame du Châtelet or Voltaire, or both, do not fail to point out

4. The original spelling of the text as well as of the manuscript notes has been retained in all quotations.

the absurdities of his position. A few examples will indicate the nature of the comments:

*Dacier*

Estre veritablement Philosophe, c'est avoir de la tempérance, de la justice, et de la force, aimer la verité . . . faire du bien aux hommes et à ses ennemis même; ne penser qu'à bien mourir, et pour cet effet renoncer à tout et à soy-même.

("Discours," 1, no page.)

De sorte qu'aussi-tost que les Prophetes cessent parmi les Juifs, Dieu suscite des Philosophes pour commencer à éclairer les Gentils, et les principes de l'Evangile sont enseignés dans Athènes . . . On voit clairement que Dieu, pour fermer la bouche de l'incrédulité, préparoit déjà la conversion des Payens, car n'est-ce pas l'ouvrage de Dieu . . . qu'un Payen, qui dans la plus idolâtre de toutes les Villes, et près de quatre cens ans avant que la lumière de l'Evangile éclairât l'Univers, annonce et prouve une grande partie des vérités de la Religion Chrétienne . . .

("Discours," 1, no page.)

On y prouve . . . que l'Ame n'est que tenebres si Dieu ne l'éclaire. . . .

("Discours," 1, no page.)

Quand Platon a appelé la Matière *étternelle* il n'a pas voulu faire entendre qu'elle subsistait visiblement de toute éternité, mais qu'elle subsistait intelligiblement dans l'idée éternelle de Dieu.

("Vic," 1, 178.)

Il est vray qu'il appelle aussi cette ame *proportion* et *symmetrie*, ce qui

*Marginal notes*

habillés à la chretienne gratis par Mr Dacier

il est difficile de les y trouver dans la grande obscurité

Platon janseniste

mais par ou Mr Dacier prouvera-t-il que platon ait jamais connu la *creation* proprement dite. il est presque impossible d'en trouver l'idée dans aucun des philosophes anciens, a moins d'avoir recours à des explications aussi forcées que celles dont Mr Dacier s'est servi icy

*c'est à dire* en verité Mr Dacier est bien habile d'entendre si clairement des

pourroit faire entendre qu'elle n'est autre chose que le juste temperament des élemens même: mais la définition qu'il donne de l'Ame, ne souffre pas qu'on la prenne en ce sens: car il dit que c'est une substance qui participe de la substance indivisible, un composé du même et de l'autre, c'est à dire . . . un composé de la première matière et de l'esprit universel.

("Vie," I, 183.)

Other comments on the Plato-Christian aspect of Dacier's interpretation refer again to the use of the word *creation* in connection with the Platonic universe which the marginalia never fail to note as a misuse of the term. There are further references to the question of eternity which Dacier tries to fit into Christian theology, and which our reader or readers correct to an eternity *a parte ante* as well as *a parte post*, thus making Plato conform to certain eighteenth-century ideas instead of to Christian theology. When Dacier attempts to identify Plato's trinities with the Christian trinity, claiming that Plato learned this conception from the Hebrew prophets, it is pointed out that this is an absurdity, and that the Hebrews themselves had no such conception: "croire que Platon a connu la trinité chrétienne c'est croire la chose du monde la moins probable. Comment les Juifs lui auroient-ils appris ce qu'ils ne connoissoient pas eux-mêmes." ("Vie," I, 246.) Again Dacier supports his argument by finding parallels in Plato's idea of the soul and the Christian idea, which according to the comments, is impossible since: "on ne peut pas assurer ce qu'il entendoit par le mot *d'ame* et il n'est pas bien sur qu'il crut qu'elles étoient des intelligences par opposition à la matière." ("Vie," I, 193.)

One of the most confused and curious arguments of Dacier is that in Plato as in the Scriptures the immortality of the angels is a privilege of pure grace which depends on the will of God ("Vie," I, 224), and that Plato drew the idea of different degrees of spirits from the theology of the Hebrews. Naturally the comments do not fail to point out that Plato does not use any word which can be properly translated as "angels" and that if he did it would not have the same meaning as for modern Christians, and that furthermore the Hebrews themselves did not conceive of angels as other than fantastic bodies ("Vie," I, 237). Dacier himself admits that he was translating freely the Greek word usually translated *demons* as *angels*. In other places, particularly in the *Apology*,

énigmes si indéchiffrables. à quoi lui sert-il de faire Platon chrétien, est-ce de sa doctrine que la religion doit tirer ses preuves, et une religion émanée de Dieu même a-t-elle besoin de son témoignage pour qu'il pût lui servir. il faudroit qu'il fut plus clair.



he uses *divinités*, *Dieux*, *choses divines* indiscriminately for the same Greek word, which our readers never fail to notice and correct, accusing Dacier of purposely doing violence to the text, by omissions, additions and mistranslations in order to make Plato fit into his preconceived idea of the meaning of his work. In a note of Dacier to a passage in the *Apology* concerning the Gods, he says: "Ces passages sont plus importants qu'ils ne paroissent d'abord. Tout homme qui croit des enfants des Dieux, croit des Dieux. On croit un Dieu dès qu'on croit des anges, et c'est ce que Socrate veut insinuer" ("Apologie," II, 44). To this the reader replies, summing up his reaction to the whole argument: "Note ridicule. La marote de Mr Dacier est de faire Platon Chretien, malgré qu'il en ait."

Other comments on Dacier's interpretation of Plato are of a more varied nature and difficult to classify. They are much what one would expect if we imagine Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet together, giving a careful and critical reading to an author with whose fundamental premises they disagree. Occasionally we smile at a very human reaction such as the following:

*Dacier*

Outre ce défaut (la communauté des femmes contre la nature) on y en trouve encore un autre, c'est l'éducation des femmes qu'il destine aux mêmes employes que les hommes, et qu'il appelle au commandement des armées et au gouvernement des Etats.

*Marginal note*

ou Mr Dacier a-t-il pris que si on eslevoit les femmes difereemment elles ne seroient pas capables des memes choses que les hommes, est un préjugé que l'experience contraire auroit du détruire.

("Vie," I, 149.)

This might be Madame du Châtelet coming to the defense of her sex in the implied slight to Madame Dacier. On the other hand we know that Voltaire considered that of the two Daciers, the wife was the more intelligent.<sup>5</sup>

There are several criticisms of Dacier's conception of vice and virtue as he saw the problem in Plato, a conception which gives a theocratic interpretation of moral law, tracing all good to the creator and all evil to an error of the free will. That this is far from satisfactory to our critical readers as a correct interpretation of Plato's thought or indeed as an acceptable doctrine in any case, is amply manifest in the following examples.

5. Articles on Dacier and Madame Dacier in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*.

*Dacier*

Comme Dieu sçavoit que l'homme seroit intemperant sur le boire et sur le manger, et qu'il n'y avoit rien de plus capable de le faire perir avant qu'il ne fust parvenu à l'age parfait, il fit dans le bas ventre comme un labyrinthe de boyaux . . .

("Vie," 1, 202.)

Car selon Socrate, personne n'est vicieux que malgré luy. . .

("Vie," 1, 206.)

(de l'union de l'âme et du corps): Car de leur juste proportion viennent la santé et la vertu comme les maladies et les vices viennent de son contraire. Si l'Ame est trop forte pour le corps, elle l'affoiblit, elle l'use, et luy cause tres-souvent des maux qui trompent les medecins.

("Vie," 1, 209.)

Dieu l'ayant créée, le mal seroit toujours venu de luy, quoyque le corps eust esté *créé* par les Divinités inférieures.

("Vie," 1, 219.)

Tout de même les maux de l'Ame ne sont point un vice de la nature, mais un vice de la volonté, qui, estant libre, se sert de sa liberté pour rejeter le bien.

("Vie," 1, 222.)

*Marginal notes*

et les boyaux des autres animaux pourquoy sont-ils tortillés?

donc personne ne merite a proprement parler le blame du vice.

est-ce la faute du composé si les parties ne sont pas faites l'une pour l'autre.

le mot est impropre dans cet endroit et dans beaucoup d'autres dans ce livre, du moins suivant l'idée que nous y attachons chrétiennement.

c'est faire du vice une negation

Dacier does not hesitate to interpret Plato in terms which he thinks will be in accord with modern Christian thought even when he is forced to resort to expressing his idea as his own opinion, thus betraying that he has consciously distorted the original. In his opinion, for example, the metempsychosis is a punishment for vice and we are transformed into beasts if we are vicious, and raised to a higher plane if virtuous; in fact a soul could animate the same body several times, and metempsychosis was a sort of pre-vision of the resurrection. This is reading a good deal

into Plato, and it is to be expected that our eighteenth-century commentators would protest against this mystical interpretation of the metempsychosis, and particularly against the introduction of the word resurrection, which was, they insist, unknown to the ancients, unless perhaps to the Magians. Furthermore, they say, it is absurd to give such forced and allegorical explanations of metempsychosis.

Occasionally the marginal notes express approval of Dacier's remarks, even if it be only to turn them against him. They agree with him in praising the dialogue as a method of bringing out the truth in philosophic discussion, although elsewhere objecting to some of Socrates' verbal victories. They agree with him that Plato is often intentionally obscure, expressing himself by enigmas and mysteries, baffling us by using certain terms which mean the opposite from what they appear to mean, but they disagree with him when he tries to explain these obscurities by greater obscurities. Their conclusion seems to be that we can gain much profit from Plato when he is clear, but when he is obscure, his thought is either indecipherable because Plato wished it to be so, or because we do not know enough of ancient philosophy in general to understand him. Since the handwriting does not seem to be a sure guide to the authorship of the ideas expressed, we could interpret this judgment as representing either the cautious scientist, Madame du Châtelet, or the generally skeptical attitude of Voltaire towards speculative philosophy.

Both Dacier and his critics seem to be familiar with the commentaries of Ficino. The notes mark with approval Dacier's observations on Ficino, who, he says, is too abstract and often more obscure than Plato himself, and who either fails to explain Plato or finds a meaning which is not only convenient, but orthodox. This judgment is approved as very just, but it is, say the notes, "un exemple dont Mr Dacier auroit du profiter pour eviter le même défaut."

In his "Vie de Platon," Dacier seems to have drawn freely from Diogenes Laertius, who was well known to the eighteenth century through the Meibom edition, Amsterdam, 1692, which contained the notes of Ménage and Kuhn and gave the text in both Greek and Latin. It was considered by LeClerc to be the best of the "twenty-four editions of Diogenes since the invention of printing."<sup>6</sup> The authors of the marginal notes seem to be equally familiar with Diogenes, and either read Dacier with Diogenes in hand in order to check on his statements or knew it so well that they could quote readily to correct or confute

6. *Bibliothèque Universelle*, 1692, xxii, 483.

Dacier. Plutarch also seems to be an important source both for Dacier and for his critics. They are also quick to notice anecdotes from unknown sources and to demand that Dacier justify his stories. There is one tale of Plato living at Olympia with people of little education. Dacier recounts as an example of Plato's lack of vanity that he lived with them in the greatest simplicity, and never once talked to them of Socrates or of the Academy! A brief remark, but full of feeling, accompanies this story: "ie voudrois que Mr Dacier citast les auteurs."

As an illustration of the close attention to detail on the part of the readers another example may be quoted. Dacier says ("Argument du Theages," I, 498): "Les anciens ont cité ce Dialogue sous le titre de la Sagesse, ou sous celui de la Philosophie, comme on le voit dans Diogene Laërce." The comment remarks, "Mr Dacier reconoit-il icy que diogene laërce a connu ce second titre des dialogues de platon quoyqu'il ait dit le contraire dans la vie de platon, p. 123." Other evidences of careful and critical reading may be summed up in the following excerpts:

*Dacier*

[Plutarque] dit que ceux qui ont donné à Platon Apollon pour pere, n'ont pas fait de deshonneur à ce Dieu, en luy attribuant la generation d'un homme qui est le medecin des ames.

("Vie," I, 63.)

[Platon] fut d'abord appelé Aristoclés du nom de son grand père: son maistre de palestre l'appella Platon à cause de ses épaules larges et quarrées.

("Vie," I, 63.)

. . . et fit mesme des tragedies qu'il brûla à l'âge de 20 ans après avoir entendu Socrate.

("Vie," I, 64.)

A son départ il (Denys) voulut le combler de presens que Platon refusa, se contentant de la promesse qu'il luy fit de rappeler Dion dès que la guerre seroit finie.

("Vie," I, 82.)

*Marginal notes*

il faisoit en meme tems allusion a esculape dieu de la medecine dont apollon étoit aussi le pere.

on en donnoit encore plusieurs autres raisons voyés diogene laërce

on pretent aussi que ce fut après avoir lu les poësies d'homere.

diog. laërce ne dit pas qu'il lui dit lui-meme mais qu'il lui fit prier par escrit après son retour a Atenes.

Dans les livres de la République il donne des rôles très-considérables à Adimantus et Glaucon; et Antiphon le plus jeune de tous, il le fait parler dans son Parménide.

("Vie," I, 101.)

diog. laërce ne fait point mention de ce frère de Platon. il nome surtout adimante et glaucon mais par le parmenide de Platon il paroît qu'antiphon fut frère de glaucon et d'adimante, mais en même temps son père est nommé pyrilampus. il faudroit donc dire que perictione mère de platon outre ariston épousa pyrilampe de qui elle eut antyphron comme elle avoit eu adimante, glaucon et platon d'ariston.

This last note is of particular interest as evidence that Voltaire read not only this Dacier translation of Plato, which does not contain the *Parménides*, but other works, and with sufficient care to work out the relationships in Plato's family.<sup>7</sup>

The criticisms of the text are often rather captious and not of great importance, except in calling Dacier to order for his indiscriminate use of *gods, divinities, angels, divine things and spirits*; "*δαίμονες*, dit le grec" is noted with patient persistence at least six times. Dacier had also tried to gloss over all evidence of Plato's tolerance of homosexuals. This is corrected several times by evidence from Diogenes and by refusing to accept in the translation the word *maitresses* for *mignons*, and the comment that this was a common thing among ancient philosophers. The textual corrections are not sufficiently numerous to suggest a line by line comparison with the original Greek. Considering the fact that even by eighteenth-century standards Dacier was not a careful translator, and the low opinion these readers seem to have of him, innumerable flaws could probably have been found. It seems most probable that doubtful passages were noted at the time of reading for later checking with the Greek. Objection is taken to *science* where *sagesse* would be a better translation. Xantippe is not allowed to hold one of her children *dans ses bras* in the prison of Socrates because the Greek text says in the *Phædo* that she was seated by Socrates *holding* one of her children. Even

7. Other works of Plato in the Voltaire library in Leningrad are: *Opera omnia*. Lugduni, 1667. In-folio.

*République de Platon, ou du juste et de l'injuste*, trad. par M. de la Pillonnière. Londres, 1726. In-4.

*République de Platon, ou Dialogues de la justice*. Paris, 1762. 2 vols. in-8. (Too late to be of interest for this study.) See G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey, "Voltaire's Books: A Selected List," *MP*, xxvii (1929), 10.

what is probably a mere typographical error is noted when, in the *Phædo*, *l'homme* is used for *l'âme*. And in a summing up the readers remark: ("Apologie," II, 80) that Dacier does violence to the text to make Plato say what he does not say.

Each of the dialogues given in the translation is accompanied by frequent marginal notes, of which the greatest number concern the *Phædo*, and in some cases there is a general appraisal at the end. Of the first and second *Alcibiades* the readers are very critical, particularly of the first, which they consider often equivocal and sophistical, observing at the end: "il me paroît que dans ce dialogue Alcibiade n'a pas assés d'esprit et acorde trop facilement tous les privileges et toutes les consequences de Socrate" (I, 416). Since it was not known at the time of writing that these dialogues are spurious, we cannot but admire the perspicacity of the criticism. There are not many marginal notes on the *Eutyphro*, but the general judgment is of some interest: "ce dialogue est fort beau, et surtout plein d'une ironie tres fine, mais il me semble que Socrate fait une distinction un peu sophistique entre *l'aimé* et *le saint*, et qu'il s'embrouille un peu d'autant plus qu'il ne me paroît pas digne de Socrate de ne vouloir pas que l'essence du saint soit d'être aimé de dieu, suivant l'idée qu'il avoit de la divinité cette definition devoit lui plaire. (I, 554.)

Of all the dialogues, the *Apology* is the most greatly admired: "je n'ai rien lu qui me plaise autant que cette apologie c'est la ce qu'on peut apeler l'éloquence des choses et de la verité." Most of the marginal notes are criticisms not of Plato but of Dacier's translation and interpretations. Here there is a fundamental difference of opinion; Dacier tries to explain away all of Socrates' skepticism, whereas the marginal notes contradict Dacier's interpretations and emphasize Socrates' doubts in order to admire him the more. Dacier appears to wish to make of Socrates almost a modern Christian, confident of the future of his soul, far in advance of his time in his concept of divinity; the notes constantly put him back in his environment, and point out that he was a man of ancient Greece, not entirely free from superstition, but on the whole a true pyrrhonian, admirable for his high moral tone and his dignity, but certainly no mystic.

This view of Socrates is brought out again in the one brief comment on the *Crito*. The passage is as follows, and both the remarks of Dacier and the marginal note illustrate not only the manner in which Dacier added to Plato but also the way in which the notes of his readers invite him, somewhat summarily, to return to the Platonic text.

*Dacier*

*Socrate:* Nous ne devons donc pas mon cher Criton, nous mettre en peine que dira le peuple, mais que dira celui-là seul qui connoist le juste et l'injuste, et ce seul n'est autre que la verité . . . (Note de Dacier: Dans toutes nos actions nous ne devons regarder que la verité, c'est à dire, Dieu, qui est seul la verité même.)

("Apologie," II, 107.)

*Marginal note*

Mr Dacier met ici Dieu en jeu tres gratuitement: car Platon oppose seulement au Peuple un homme versé dans la connoissance du juste et de l'injuste.

In the case of the *Phædo* the criticisms in the marginal notes are directed not against Dacier but against Plato himself. This dialogue is more frequently annotated than any of the others, and the notes form a running argument with Plato, betraying typical Voltairian suspicion of metaphysics and many traces of Locke. A detailed analysis of these notes and the passages to which they refer is beyond the bounds of the present article and they need to be studied separately in connection with the whole problem of Voltaire and Plato, for it should be clear by now that whoever made the annotations in the text the ideas are Voltaire's and their significance is in the light they may throw on his study of Plato. Typical remarks on the *Phædo* are: "voilà ce qu'on peut appeler des reveries,"—"c'est ce qu'il faudroit prouver,"—"cela est vray, mais . . ."—"ce seroit effectivement curieux a savoir." And as for the famous proof of the origin of things by contraries, Voltaire exclaims (and in this case his handwriting seems clearly recognizable) "quel impertinent galimatias!" Voltaire's violent reaction to this argument, which he refers to again and again in his printed works, may be responsible for the general opinion that he scorned and misunderstood Plato. But such an exclamation, even though frequently repeated as Voltaire liked to do when he thought he had found an effective phrase, does not alter the fact that the greater part of the notes on the *Phædo* show careful and thoughtful reading and painstaking formulation of the arguments of eighteenth-century sensibility in answer to Plato's conception of the relation of the soul to the body. A few examples will illustrate the nature of the objections:

*Text*

*Socrate:* Et par conséquent, Simias, nos Ames estoient avant ce tems là, c'est à dire qu'avant qu'elles pa-

*Marginal notes*

il semble quitter icy la metemiscose tout ceci est bien embrouillé



russe sous cette forme humaine et  
pendant qu'elles estoient sans corps,  
elles pensoient, elles connoissoient,  
elles sçavoient.

*Simmias*: A moins que nous ne  
disions, Socrate, que nous avons  
appris toutes ces sciences en naissant.  
Car voilà le seul tems qui nous reste.

("Phedon," II, 205.)

pourquoi ne pas dire que nous apren-  
nons par la comparaison que nous  
faisons des objets autour? et en raiso-  
nant sur ce que nous voyons.

As for the unfortunate Dacier, when he undertakes to explain the *Phædo* in his notes, his opinions are dismissed as: "Capucinades sur capucinades. Elles sont frequentes chez Mr Dacier." The eighteenth century has the final word in a last comment, on the *Phædo*, which sums up the opposing view on immortality:

Mais ne pourroit-on pas dire que la vie intelligible ne reçoit jamais la mort, mais que partout ou elle se trouve elle y communique son essence come le chaud, le froid, le pair, l'impair, la grandeur, la petitesse, et partout ou se trouve la mort la vie disparoit et est détruite, come le froid fait disparoitre le chaud, le pair l'impair. S'entend la vie accidentelle mais non la vie intelligible, come le pair et le chaud accidentel, alors la vie ne sera plus l'ame mais une qualité ou accident de la matiere tant dans les vegetaux que dans les animaux.

("Phedon," II, 294.)

This serious attempt to answer Plato is quite different in tone from the "impertinent galimatias" and seems to show that the first exclamation, in spite of its frequent recurrence does not represent a refusal to consider Plato's arguments.

There are a number of comments on the *Protagoras*, some of which ridicule Dacier's sententious reflections on virtue in his own notes and others which refer to the text of Plato. The chief complaint made against Plato in this case is that he makes Socrates as sophistical as the sophists and that he indulges in as many forced subtleties as Protagoras, but the last remark is one of approval:

#### Text

... Vous ajouteriez ensuite, ceux  
qui ont appris à lutter sont-ils plus  
puissants que ceux qui n'ont pas  
appris? et le même lutteur n'est-il pas  
plus puissant après avoir appris qu'il  
ne l'estoit avant que de connoistre cet  
exercice?

("Protagoras," II, 544.)

#### Marginal note

Cette distinction est fort juste a mon  
gré.

The last marginal note in the book is an appraisal of the dialogue which Dacier calls *Les Rivaux* (Erastai): "Ce dialogue est court, vif, bien raisonné et plein de sens, c'est, avec l'apologie, ce que j'aime le mieux des dix dialogues que contiennent ces deux volumes."

The description of the notes and the few excerpts given above indicate the nature and general tenor of the comments on Dacier's translation of these ten dialogues of Plato. What is their significance for the student of Voltaire? It becomes more and more evident on studying them that, whatever the handwriting, the mind of Voltaire was taking part in the criticisms. We can only imagine what took place during this reading at Cirey. Perhaps the translation was read aloud, which would account for the apparent alternation in the handwriting. Perhaps Madame du Châtelet acted as secretary during part of the reading, making notes as Voltaire dictated. It seems most likely that they represent a collaboration and that the notes are the result of discussion. But at best the circumstances of the reading and the making of the marginal notes must remain a matter of supposition.

One of the most obvious facts which appears from the evidence of these notes is that Voltaire knew Plato well and knew him from reading in the original. A scanning of the references to Plato in Voltaire's works would on the contrary give the impression that Voltaire rapidly turned the pages of Plato in order to find those passages most vulnerable to the attacks of eighteenth-century rationalism. This is in fact an opinion widely held, along with the idea that Voltaire was temperamentally incapable of understanding and appreciating Plato. The study of these notes suggests the necessity for a reappraisal of the whole problem, which is beyond the bounds of the present article. It is quite possible that Plato, like Pascal, was attacked with particular viciousness because he was one of the most invincible enemies of the "new philosophy." It is perhaps worth noting that only once in the marginal notes does Voltaire dismiss a Platonic argument as absurd, while in his printed works, as we have observed, the "absurde galimatias" occurs again and again, always, it should not be forgotten with reference to the same passage from the *Phædo*. Although Dacier's interpretations are treated with the utmost scorn, the dialogues themselves are treated with respect. Arguments offered in refutation are often tentatively expressed, frequently in the form of questions: "Could one not rather say . . ."—"This is an interesting proof, but . . ." and so forth. These are not the remarks of a hasty reader who wishes only to condemn. The attacks on Dacier's liberties with the text, the

weighing of apparent contradictions, indicate a sincere desire to penetrate the real meaning. Yet none of this sweet reasonableness appears in the obvious references to Plato in the printed works. Plato in the study was a great philosopher to be worked over with all the aids available to the eighteenth century. Plato on the battlefield of the printed page was an enemy to be destroyed at all costs. Had he not been used to justify the more irrational dogmas of the church? Had not Platonism and Neo-platonism encouraged mystics to withdraw from the real world and put obstacles in the way of the progress of science? In the battle for progress any weapons were justified in Voltaire's mind, even to accusing Plato of "sottises" and "galimatias." These marginal notes at least show a careful and sometimes sympathetic reader, and it may be as wrong to say that Voltaire could not understand Plato as to say that he did not understand Leibnitz because he distorted the meaning of the "best of all possible worlds."

EDITH PHILIPS

*Swarthmore College*

## LE RÔLE DU DÉTERMINISME DANS LA COMÉDIE HUMAINE DE BALZAC

---

AVANT BALZAC, il y avait eu des romans de mœurs, mais jamais romancier n'avait entrepris d'étudier, d'une façon systématique, l'histoire des mœurs de son temps. Dans un passage bien connu de son "Avant-Propos," il déplore cet oubli:

En lisant les sèches et rebutantes nomenclatures de faits appelés histoires, qui ne s'est aperçu que les écrivains ont oublié, dans tous les temps, en Egypte, en Perse, en Grèce, à Rome, de nous donner l'histoire des mœurs.

Cette lacune, il veut la combler. De bonne heure, sa principale ambition, celle à laquelle il subordonnera bientôt toutes les autres, sera de représenter la société de son temps. Ses préoccupations historiques sembleront même parfois dominer ses préoccupations artistiques.<sup>1</sup>

Mais, si tel fut le dessein de Balzac, comment a-t-il résolu le problème de nous renseigner d'une façon aussi méthodique sur la vie de son époque, tout en n'encombrant pas ses drames de détails inutiles? Comment ses expositions, dont le but est le plus souvent documentaire, se relient-elles à ses intrigues? Par un déterminisme rigoureux vers lequel a tendu l'effort de sa pensée, et qui peut être considéré comme l'armature de son œuvre. Ces mêmes documents qu'il accumule dans le but d'écrire l'histoire de son temps, il les fait servir à expliquer l'origine de ses caractères. Curtius écrit:

Balzac nous montre l'homme tout entier dans ses rapports avec le milieu physique et social. Il nous le montre déterminé par ses ancêtres, son mode de vie, l'atmosphère qui l'entoure. Bien avant Taine, il indique le rôle déterminant joué par la race, le climat et le milieu.<sup>2</sup>

Est-ce à dire que Balzac soit tombé dans l'erreur des naturalistes et qu'il ait confondu le but de l'art avec celui de la science? Voici ce qu'il dit lui-même à ce sujet dans *Louis Lambert*:

Toute science humaine repose sur la déduction qui est une vision lente par laquelle on remonte de l'effet à la cause, par laquelle on descend de la cause à l'effet. . . . Toute poésie, au contraire, comme toute œuvre d'art procède d'une vision rapide des choses.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. par exemple les *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, II, 565. Cf. aussi *Œuvres diverses*, III, 524. Sauf indication contraire, les citations de Balzac sont faites d'après l'édition Calmann Lévy, 1879.

2. *Balzac* (traduction Jourdan), Paris, 1933, p. 167.

3. Page 27.—Rappelons-nous, aussi, cette page du *Lys dans la Vallée*, où il parle des bou-

Les démonstrations scientifiques veulent de la patience, du temps, des vérifications sans nombre. Or, chez Balzac, le coup d'œil est rapide et l'observation ne fait, pour ainsi dire, que déclencher le travail de l'imagination et du raisonnement. "Il n'aimait pas—dit Gozlan—à accorder une longue attention à un spectacle quelconque."<sup>4</sup> Aussi ses romans, ceux surtout qui composent ses études de mœurs, sont-ils avant tout des œuvres d'art. Les allusions scientifiques y sont brèves et se présentent sous la forme de problèmes qu'il signale à l'attention du lecteur ou qu'il soumet aux savants de l'avenir.<sup>5</sup> Ses théories déterministes, cependant, restent toujours sous-entendues et constituent une partie essentielle de sa technique.

Tout d'abord, il ne se contente pas de poser ses caractères, il cherche à les expliquer par l'hérédité. Voici comment, dans la préface de *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*, il rend compte du charme étrange et irrésistible exercé par la Torpille:

Il n'y a que les races venues des déserts qui possèdent dans l'œil le pouvoir de la fascination. Leurs yeux retiennent sans doute quelque chose de l'infini qu'ils ont contemplé. La nature, dans sa prévoyance, a-t-elle donc armé leurs rétines de quelque talent réflecteur pour leur permettre de sentir le mirage des sables, les torrents du soleil, et l'ardent cobalt de l'éther? Ou les êtres humains prennent-ils, comme les autres, quelque chose aux milieux dans lesquels ils se développent, et gardent-ils, pendant des siècles, les qualités qu'ils en tirent? Cette grande solution du problème des races est peut-être dans la question elle-même. Les instincts sont des faits vivants dont la cause gît dans une nécessité subie: les variétés animales sont le résultat de l'exercice de ces instincts.<sup>6</sup>

Cette page, qu'il faudrait citer toute entière, pose des principes dont le lecteur attentif trouve nombre d'applications dans la *Comédie Humaine*.

Eugénie Grandet a donné tout l'or qu'elle possédait à son cousin Charles qui s'en allait aux Indes chercher fortune. Au jour de l'an, le père Grandet veut voir "son or." Lorsqu'il apprend qu'elle ne l'a plus, il entre dans une colère terrible. Il supplie, il menace, il jure "par la

quets que le jeune Vandenesse composait pour Madame de Mortsaut: "Deux fois par semaine . . . je recommençai le long travail de cette œuvre poétique à l'accomplissement de laquelle étaient nécessaires toutes les variétés des graminées, desquelles je fis une étude approfondie, moins en botaniste qu'en poète, étudiant plus leur esprit que leur forme." Comparez cette page aux longues énumérations, faites à la façon d'un traité de botanique, que l'on trouve dans la *Faute de l'Abbé Mouret* de Zola.

4. *Balzac en pantoufles*, Paris, 1886, p. 4.—Voir aussi C. Léger, *A la recherche de Balzac*, Paris 1927, pp. 12-15.

5. Ce sont les naturalistes qui ont insisté outre mesure sur la valeur documentaire de la *Comédie Humaine*, jusqu'à faire oublier qu'elle est avant tout une œuvre d'art.

6. *Œuvres diverses*, III, 526.

serpette de son père," rien n'y fait. "Elle ne bougera pas! elle ne sourcillera pas, s'écrie-t-il, elle est plus Grandet que je ne suis Grandet." En dépit de l'éducation qu'elle a reçue, de l'exemple de sa mère, de la crainte que le vieil avare inspire, il vient un jour où l'énergie qu'elle tient de son père se manifeste, où son sang se révèle.

Juana de Mancini appartient à une longue lignée de courtisanes qui remonte jusqu'au moyen-âge. Sa mère, la Marana, "dans une heure de religion et de mélancolie"

... jure devant un autel de faire de sa fille une créature vertueuse, une sainte, afin de donner, à cette longue suite de crimes amoureux et de femmes perdues, un ange, pour elles toutes, dans le ciel.

Elle la confie à une famille de Tarragone qui l'élève dans des sentiments d'honneur, de pureté et de religion. On la garde comme un trésor. Un jour, cependant, Tarragone est prise d'assaut. Durant le pillage, un aventurier italien, Montefiore, aperçoit la jeune fille à sa fenêtre et échange avec elle "une foudroyante œillade." Il réussit à se faire héberger dans la maison, et, malgré la surveillance qui redouble, et mille autres impossibilités, il parvient à la séduire, "... tant le sang des Marana pétillait au cœur de cette curieuse italienne, vierge de fait, impatiente d'aimer."<sup>7</sup>

Un dernier cas, celui de Rosalie de Watteville, montre de combien de façons différentes Balzac a présenté ce problème de l'hérédité. Cette jeune fille est aussi élevée très pieusement et avec une sévérité presque monastique. "Cette éducation—dit Balzac—et l'attitude modeste de Rosalie cachaient cependant un caractère de fer." Et voici comment il explique cette énergie anormale:

Les physiologistes et les profonds observateurs de la nature humaine vous diront, à votre grand étonnement peut-être, que, dans les familles, les humeurs, les caractères, l'esprit, le génie, reparaissent à de grands intervalles absolument comme ce qu'on appelle les maladies héréditaires. Ainsi le talent, de même que la goutte, saute parfois de deux générations.

Il cite l'exemple de George Sand "en qui revivent la force, la puissance et le concept du maréchal de Saxe de qui elle est petite-fille naturelle," et il conclut:

Le caractère décisif, la romanesque audace du fameux Watteville, étaient revenus dans l'âme de sa petite nièce, encore aggravés par la ténacité, la fierté du sang des de Rupt.<sup>8</sup>

7. *Les Marana*, p. 113.

8. *Albert Savarus*, p. 166.

On pourrait multiplier ces exemples.<sup>9</sup>

L'éducation exerce aussi une influence considérable. Elle ne corrige pas toujours les tares de la naissance, ne réprime pas non plus les sur-sauts du tempérament, mais elle oriente la vie dans une direction donnée. Sous l'empire du grand amour qu'elle porte à son cousin, Eugénie Grandet trouve la force de se dégager, un moment, des habitudes de passivité et d'obéissance qui lui ont été inculquées; mais, abandonnée de celui qu'elle aime, désillusionnée, elle revient, malgré ses huit cent mille livres de rente, aux austères façons de vivre de sa jeunesse, à cette sorte de mécanisme que l'éducation avait imprimé à ses actes:

Elle n'allume le feu de sa chambre qu'aux jours où jadis son père lui permettait d'allumer le foyer de la salle, et l'éteint conformément au programme en vigueur dans ses jeunes années.

Les mots de son père lui reviennent: "Nous verrons cela."<sup>10</sup>

Juana de Mancini est un moment entraînée par la violence de ses instincts héréditaires, mais elle ne tarde pas à se ressaisir. Mariée, elle devient une épouse modèle, "pure comme un diamant sans tache."<sup>11</sup> L'influence du *milieu* n'est pas moins importante, et elle contribue à déterminer non seulement le caractère des individus, mais celui des peuples. Balzac prétend:

... que la plupart des observateurs peuvent reconstruire les nations et les individus dans toute la vérité de leurs habitudes, d'après les restes de leurs monuments publics ou par l'examen de leurs reliques domestiques. ... L'archéologie est à la nature sociale, ce que l'anatomie comparée est à la nature organisée. Une mosaïque révèle toute une société, comme un squelette d'ichthyosaure sous-entend toute une création.<sup>12</sup>

La maison, souvent, "explique les mœurs et représente les idées de toute une classe," comme, par exemple, l'hôtel des Cormon à Alençon.<sup>13</sup>

Dans *Les Employés*, Balzac revient sur le même sujet et s'explique de façon plus précise et plus détaillée:

Les villageois, a dit un inconnu, subissent sans s'en rendre compte, l'action

9. La plupart de ses fripons—du Tillet, Gobseck, Cérizet—sont des enfants naturels, c'est-à-dire ont une origine assez trouble. Il en est de même de ses courtisanes—Joséphine, Coralie, Florentine—qui sont vendues par leur propre mère. On ne connaît guère les familles de Nucingen et de Vautrin.

10. Page 385.

11. *Les Marana*, p. 132.

12. *Recherche de l'absolu*, p. 469.

13. *La Vieille Fille*, pp. 63-64.



des circonstances atmosphériques et des faits extérieurs. Identifiés en quelque sorte avec la nature au milieu de laquelle ils vivent, ils se pénètrent insensiblement des idées et des sentiments qu'elle éveille, et les reproduisent dans leurs actions et sur leur physionomie, selon leur organisation et leur caractère individuel. Moulés ainsi et façonnés de longue main sur les objets qui les entourent sans cesse, ils sont le livre le plus intéressant et le plus vrai pour quiconque se sent attiré vers cette partie de la physiologie, si peu connue et si féconde, qui explique les rapports de l'être moral avec les agents extérieurs de la nature.<sup>14</sup>

Et, partant de ces principes, il explique que:

. . . la nature pour l'employé, c'est les bureaux. Son horizon est de toute part borné par des cartons verts; pour lui, les circonstances atmosphériques c'est l'air des corridors . . . son terroir est un carreau, ou un parquet émaillé de débris singuliers . . . son ciel est un plafond auquel il adresse ses bailllements, et son élément est la poussière.<sup>15</sup>

On comprend que, dans un tel milieu, il ne tarde pas à se "crétiniser," selon l'expression de Balzac.

D'une façon générale, Balzac a cherché pour ses drames des cadres appropriés, et, chaque fois, il s'est efforcé d'expliquer ses caractères par le milieu où leur action se déploie. Paris, par exemple, est un théâtre tout indiqué pour des monomanes comme Hulot, Vautrin; ou pour des ambitieux comme Rastignac, du Tillet, Nucingen. On a souvent remarqué que ses avares de province,—Grandet, Hochon, Rigou, Séchard—se distinguent nettement de ses usuriers parisiens,—Gobseck, Gigonnet, Samanon, Vauvinet. C'est le milieu qui explique en grande partie ces différences.<sup>16</sup>

L'amour passionné, absolu, qui, rebuté, va jusqu'à mettre en danger la vie de Calyste du Guénic, à la Bretagne pour théâtre, et, ici encore, se manifeste la frappante intuition de Balzac. Ecoutez Renan:

Ce qu'il y a de plus particulier chez les peuples de race bretonne, c'est l'amour . . . C'est une volupté intérieure *qui use et qui tue*.<sup>17</sup>

N'oublions pas, cependant, que d'après les théories de Balzac, les forces, soit dans la nature, soit dans la société, sont à la fois effets et causes.<sup>18</sup> Nous agissons sur les êtres autant peut-être qu'ils agissent sur nous. Les choses participent à notre vie,<sup>19</sup> entrent en nous et nous

14. Page 156.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Cf. Montalée, *En lisant Balzac*, Paris, 1925, pp. 189-190.

17. *Souvenirs d'enfance*, éd. Calmann Lévy, p. 40.

18. Cf. Curtius, *op. cit.* p. 59.

19. Balzac parle des rues de Paris comme de "personnes humaines" remarque M. Belles-

façonnent à leur ressemblance. D'autre part, notre vie irradie et se répand sur tout ce qui nous entoure. Ainsi, "il est difficile de décider" si les employés qu'il appelle "des mammifères à plume," se "crétinisent" à ce métier ou s'ils ne font pas ce métier parce qu'ils sont un peu "crétins" de naissance. La maison, on l'a vu, influe sur les mœurs; il arrive pourtant que ce sont plutôt le caractère, les goûts, les habitudes de l'homme qui se manifestent dans le choix d'une maison ou d'un ameublement. Parlant de l'appartement d'une dévote, Balzac nous dit:

Dans ces sinistres et implacables maisons, la *bigotterie* se peint dans les meubles, dans les gravures, dans les tableaux.<sup>20</sup>

Dans les premières pages du *Père Goriot*, il trace un pittoresque portrait de la veuve Vauquer et il ajoute: "Toute sa personne explique la pension, comme la pension implique sa personne."<sup>21</sup>

Balzac ne signale pas lui-même l'influence du *moment*, mais elle se manifeste à tout lecteur attentif presque à chaque page de son œuvre. Gautier avait déjà attiré l'attention sur la modernité de Balzac.<sup>22</sup> Dernièrement, M. P. Abraham est revenu sur ce sujet et constate "que le nombre des événements mis en scène par lui à moins de quinze ans de distance atteint et même dépasse légèrement (52%) la moitié du nombre total des événements romanesques."<sup>23</sup> Or, parmi ces faits contemporains, Balzac choisit de préférence les plus caractéristiques, ceux qu'il appelle des faits *typiques*. Ses héros sont aussi des fils de leur époque; ils en ont les habitudes et la mentalité. Ils ont tous respiré ces miasmes dont l'atmosphère de leur temps était, selon Balzac, infectée. Il y a bien dans la *Comédie Humaine* quelques représentants des idées et des croyances de l'ancienne France—le baron du Guénic, le marquis d'Esgrignon—mais ce sont des épaves que le flot des idées modernes ne tardera pas à submerger. La plupart de ses personnages sont des produits de cet esprit révolutionnaire, de cet esprit d'individualisme qui est en train de désorganiser la France. Sur la scène parisienne et jusqu'au fond des provinces on rencontre un nombre vraiment anormal d'ambitieux sans scrupules, "d'adorateurs du veau

sort. (*Balzac et son œuvre*, Paris, 1925, p. 167)—Grandet s'écrie: "Vraiment les écus vivent et grouillent comme des hommes" (p. 346)—Dans *les Employés* (p. 124), le romancier nous dit: "Les incroyables ustensiles avec lesquels on administre la France, ont des physiologies effrayantes."

20. *Une Double Famille*, p. 378.

21. Page 6.—Pour plus de développements, cf. Horatio Smith, *Masters of French Literature*, New York, 1937, p. 291.

22. *Honoré de Balzac*, Paris, 1859, p. 129.

23. *Créatures chez Balzac*, Paris, 1931, p. 275.

d'or," de viveurs qui font fi de tous leurs devoirs. Et Balzac explique cette corruption par l'influence des idées régnantes, par le désir effréné de s'enrichir—désir qui sans doute a existé à toutes les époques, comme le dit Le Breton,<sup>24</sup>—mais qui fut particulièrement impérieux au temps de Balzac, par l'égoïsme dont les principes de 89 sont en grande partie la cause et qui pousse les individus à faire passer leur propre intérêt en premier lieu, à ne jamais se sacrifier même pour les causes les plus sacrées.<sup>25</sup>

A côté de ces influences de la race, de l'éducation, du milieu, du moment, il en est d'autres encore qui agissent sur lui et qui le modifient physiquement et moralement. Il y a le métier d'abord. Dans les premières pages du *Cousin Pons*, Balzac nous dit:

La plupart des observateurs de la nature sociale et parisienne peuvent dire la profession d'un passant en le voyant venir. . . . L'habitude de siéger, par exemple, modifie le corps.<sup>26</sup>

Dans une de ses *Esquisses parisiennes*, il décrit "la transformation d'un clerc joyeux, rusé, fin, spirituel, goguenard" en notaire, c'est-à-dire en un "homme gros et court, bien portant, vêtu de noir, sûr de lui, presque toujours empesé, doctoral, important surtout."<sup>27</sup>

Il y a ensuite la nourriture:

Les destinées d'un peuple dépendent et de sa nourriture et de son régime. Les céréales ont créé les peuples artistes . . . Il est étrange, ajoute-t-il, que Brillat-Savarin . . . ait oublié de remarquer la liaison qui existe entre les produits de l'homme et les substances qui peuvent changer les conditions de sa vitalité.<sup>28</sup>

Nous subissons tous aussi l'influence du costume. . . . Vêtue d'un peignoir ou parée pour le bal, une femme est bien autre. . . . Les actions qui appartiennent à la mode, le maintien, la conversation, etc. ne sont jamais que les conséquences de notre toilette.<sup>29</sup>

Toutes ces causes agissent sur nous et d'une façon médiate ou immédiate déterminent nos actes, nous prédisposent à tel ou tel égarement, à telle ou telle passion. Il y en a beaucoup d'autres qui, parfois, ont aussi sur nous une influence directe et prochaine. Ce sont, par

24. Balzac, *l'homme et l'œuvre*. Paris, 1905, p. 237.

25. Les paysans sont un exemple de cet esprit révolutionnaire qui, selon Balzac, est en train de désorganiser la France. Les *Illusions perdues* nous signalent un autre ennemi: ce sont les journaux et surtout les journalistes. Dans le monde des finances se manifeste aussi l'esprit nouveau. Etc.

26. *L'Interdiction*, p. 336.

27. *Œuvres diverses*, II, 280.

28. *Ibid.*, I, 614.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 500.—Ces aphorismes sont fréquents chez Balzac: "Autant d'hommes autant d'habits différents; et autant d'habits, autant de caractères." (*Ibid.*, XI, 447.)

exemple, les infirmités physiques, la santé, la fortune; ce sont les amis, les connaissances; ce sont les convictions politiques; et c'est aussi le hasard.

Le hasard joue un rôle important dans le roman balzacien. C'est par hasard que le baron Hulot rencontre Madame Marneffe. Il vient d'être mis à la porte par Josépha et, consciemment ou non, il cherche une autre maîtresse. On se doute bien qu'il va retomber dans ses vices, mais la fatalité, ou le hasard, veut que ce soit cette perfide femme qui se trouve sur son chemin.<sup>30</sup> C'est aussi par hasard que Remonencq apprend la valeur considérable de la collection Pons. Ce hasard va déchaîner sur le vieux musicien toutes les persécutions que l'on sait.<sup>31</sup> C'est par hasard que Balthazar Claës rencontre Adam de Wierzychownia, le gentilhomme polonais qui va le lancer à la recherche de l'absolu.<sup>32</sup> Comment concilier ces fréquents recours au hasard avec les théories déterministes de Balzac?

Remarquons, d'abord, que ces événements fortuits ne diffèrent guère de ceux que l'on peut observer constamment dans toute vie humaine.<sup>33</sup> En outre, le hasard ne sert jamais d'entrave aux passions; il les seconde plutôt, ou du moins il est dans la logique de leur évolution. Il ne fait souvent que déclencher un ressort déjà tendu. Et si l'on songe aux théories de Balzac sur les relations multiples et profondes qui existent entre les êtres,<sup>34</sup> on se demande si le hasard n'est pas, chez lui, une sorte de fatalité, quelque chose d'inévitable dans un cas donné. Le personnage étant tel qu'il nous le décrit, ne doit-il pas fatalement, un jour ou l'autre, rencontrer sur sa route un de ces individus qui secondent ses passions ou des circonstances qui serviront d'aliment à ses vices?<sup>35</sup>

Tout considéré, il y a plus de logique dans les romans balzaciens qu'il ne s'en trouve dans la série d'événements qui composent une vie ordinaire. Et cette logique est voulue:

30. *Cousine Bette*, p. 51.

31. *Cousin Pons*, p. 478.

32. *Recherche de l'Absolu*, p. 526.

33. Alain écrit avec une pointe de paradoxe: "... ce qui arrive ou ce qui existe est absolument improbable. ... En somme le probable n'est jamais près de faire un être." *Avec Balzac*, Paris, 1937, pp. 15-16.

34. Cf. M. B. Ferguson, *La Volonté dans la Comédie Humaine de Balzac*, Paris, 1935, pp. 91-92.

35. Un passage des *Martyrs ignorés* corrobore cette hypothèse. La scène se passe au café *Voltaire* où plusieurs étudiants sont attablés avec un libraire:

*Tichoern*.—Ne trouvez-vous pas quelque chose de gigantesque à se mesurer avec le hasard?

*Grodninsky*.—Le hasard est une puissance bien incomprise: il représente l'ensemble des mouvements d'une force qui nous est inconnue, et qui meut le monde. . .

*Le libraire*.—S'il n'y a pas de hasard, il y a donc un Dieu. (*Œuvres diverses*, I, 356. Voir aussi *Louis Lambert*, p. 63.)

L'historien des mœurs obéit à des lois plus dures que celles qui régissent l'historien des faits; il doit rendre tout probable, même le vrai; tandis que dans le domaine de l'histoire proprement dite, l'impossible est justifié par la raison qu'il est advenu.<sup>36</sup>

Le romancier doit expliquer logiquement ce qui dans la nature arrive accidentellement. Ce n'est pas tout. Comme "chacun a son vrai particulier" . . . "chacun doit reconnaître la teinte du sien dans la couleur générale du type présenté par le romancier."<sup>37</sup>

On le voit donc, il ne s'agit même pas d'un vrai relatif qui s'adresserait à une classe d'individus, mais d'un vrai en quelque sorte universel qui puisse sembler probable à tout le monde. Lorsque, surtout, un personnage est dominé par une passion ou un vice—et c'est le cas des monomanes de Balzac—on peut presque toujours deviner comment il se comportera dans telle ou telle circonstance. Il va en ligne droite.<sup>38</sup> Balzac sait, qu'en réalité, il faudrait tenir compte de beaucoup d'autres motifs qui agissent aussi sur la volonté. Dans *Pierrette*, par exemple, il nous dit:

Ce monde de choses mystérieuses et qu'il faudrait peut-être nommer les immondices du cœur humain, gisent à la base des plus grandes révolutions politiques, sociales ou domestiques; mais, en les disant, peut-être est-il extrêmement utile d'expliquer que leur traduction algébrique, quoique vraie, est infidèle sous le rapport de la forme. Ces calculs profonds ne parlent pas aussi brutalement que l'histoire les exprime.<sup>39</sup>

Il n'ignore donc pas les nombreux agents inconscients ou subconscients qui, à des degrés divers, concourent à déterminer notre volonté, mais sa conception du roman lui interdit de se perdre dans une psychologie trop subtile et trop singulière.

Le souci qu'il a de rendre ses intrigues logiques et vraisemblables l'amène à nous faire pressentir et même, parfois, à nous révéler, dès les premières pages du récit, le dénouement du drame.

Madame Clapart accompagne son fils Oscar à la diligence, et elle lui fait ses recommandations:

Ecoute, mon Oscar, tu as de la propension à causer, à dire tout ce que tu sais et tout ce que tu ne sais pas, et cela par bravade, par un sot amour-propre de jeune homme; je te le répète, songe à tenir ta langue en bride . . . Il n'y a rien de plus dangereux que de causer dans les voitures publiques.<sup>40</sup>

36. *Les Paysans*, p. 374.

37. *Op. cit.*, IV, 579.

38. Ramon Fernandez a particulièrement insisté, et avec beaucoup de pénétration, sur cet aspect de la technique balzacienne. Cf. *Messages*, Paris, 1926, p. 72.

39. Page 467.—Voir aussi *Interdiction*, p. 388, *La Maison Nucingen*, p. 607.

40. *Un Début dans la vie*, p. 32.

Elle a comme un pressentiment des déboires qui vont arriver à son fils. Relisez aussi les premières pages de *César Birotteau*:

La parfumeuse est réveillée en sursaut par un épouvantable rêve. Elle s'apparaît à elle-même en haillons, tournant d'une main sèche et ridée le bec-de-cane de sa propre boutique; elle se demande l'aumône.

Elle veut "saisir son mari"; il n'est pas là: il est en train de prendre des mesures pour la réfection de leur appartement. Birotteau lui expose ses projets et, dans la discussion qui s'élève entre eux à ce sujet, elle lui prédit tout ce qui doit leur arriver, c'est-à-dire les faits principaux qui constituent l'intrigue du roman.

Au début de la *Cousine Bette*, Madame Hulot voit aussi son mari "tombant de jour en jour, par degrés, jusque dans la boue sociale, et renvoyé peut-être du ministère."<sup>41</sup>

Le but de Balzac semble être moins d'exciter notre curiosité par des combinaisons étranges d'aventures que de satisfaire notre esprit par une logique impeccable. Sa technique repose avant tout sur l'unité; et, cette unité, il l'a cherchée, comme on le sait, non seulement dans chacun de ses romans, mais dans son œuvre entière. Il a voulu faire de tous ses drames un seul drame. Or, ses laborieuses divisions, ses classements souvent artificiels, sont évidemment impuissants à réaliser ce dessein.<sup>42</sup> L'unité qui existe dans la *Comédie Humaine* vient d'abord des principes économiques, politiques qu'il a su dégager des nombreuses observations faites sur la vie de son époque, des jugements qu'il a portés sur les conséquences, d'après lui funestes, de la Révolution de 1789. Elle vient aussi du fait qu'il s'est constamment efforcé "d'élever le roman à la valeur philosophique."<sup>43</sup> Un peu partout dans son œuvre, dans ses *Etudes philosophiques*, en particulier, il a esquissé des synthèses, tenté d'établir des rapports, hasardé des rapprochements dont le but était de réduire le connu à quelques axiomes fondamentaux. C'est ainsi que ses théories sur la chimie,<sup>44</sup> sur la peinture,<sup>45</sup> sur la musique,<sup>46</sup>

41. Page 28.

42. Voir Le Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

43. "Avant-Propos" de la *Comédie Humaine*.—Remarquons que les idées politiques de Balzac se rattachent elles-mêmes à ses théories philosophiques. "Aujourd'hui [écrit-il dans *Louis Lambert* (p. 66)] la science est une, il est impossible de toucher à la politique sans s'occuper de morale, et la morale tient à toutes les questions scientifiques."

44. Voici comment Balthazar Claës définit l'objet de ses recherches: "Une substance commune à toutes les créations, modifiée par une force unique, telle est la position nette et claire du problème offert par l'absolu et qui m'a semblé cherchable." *Recherche de l'Absolu*, p. 529.

45. Cf. *Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu*, p. 317.

46. Cf. *Gambara*, pp. 352-353. En 1837, il écrit à Maurice Schlesinger, rédacteur de la *Gazette Musicale*, et lui "demande jusqu'au 20 Juillet pour achever d'exprimer [ses] idées en musique." Et il ajoute: "Si toutefois je puis réduire mes sensations à l'état d'idées, et en tirer

etc., ne sont que des essais de généralisations, ou mieux, sont un effort pour s'élever de la "sensation à l'idée," et de l'idée à des principes transcendants qui, selon Balzac, sont communs à tous les arts et à toutes les sciences.

Mais, d'une façon immédiate, c'est par ses théories déterministes que Balzac s'est efforcé de créer l'unité dans sa pensée et dans son œuvre. Il ne s'est pas borné à montrer l'influence exercée sur ses caractères par la race, le milieu, le moment, etc.; selon son habitude, il est parti de ces faits particuliers pour s'élever à des lois générales. Il a montré que "toutes choses sont en interdépendance et en interaction continue" pour me servir d'une expression de Curtius,<sup>47</sup> et il en est arrivé à une sorte de déterminisme universel:

Tout s'enchaîne dans le monde réel. Tout mouvement y correspond à une cause, toute cause se rattache à l'ensemble; et, conséquemment, l'ensemble se représente dans le moindre mouvement. . . . Tout est fatal dans la vie humaine, comme dans la vie de notre planète. Les moindres accidents, les plus futiles, y sont subordonnés.<sup>48</sup>

La volonté humaine elle-même n'est plus considérée comme une force individuelle pouvant agir indépendamment des autres forces de l'univers, elle s'insère dans ce réseau de nécessités qui sont les lois de la nature:

Le monde moral est taillé, pour ainsi dire, sur le patron du monde matériel; les mêmes effets s'y doivent retrouver, avec les différences propres à leurs divers milieux.<sup>49</sup>

Avant les "scientistes," Balzac a rêvé d'une immense synthèse scientifique dont le déterminisme serait la loi fondamentale. Il ne s'agit pas d'un système organisé et complet, mais d'hypothèses qui, tout en donnant à la *Comédie Humaine* une "valeur philosophique," lui confèrent en même temps cette unité organique et profonde que l'on retrouve dans la vie ainsi que dans toute grande œuvre littéraire.

H. U. FOREST

*University of Pennsylvania*

---

quelque chose qui ait l'air d'un système philosophique." (C'est moi qui souligne). (*Œuvres diverses*, III, 495.)

47. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

48. *Cousin Pons*, p. 510.

49. *Cousin Pons*, pp. 509-510.—Dans la *Physiologie du mariage*, éd. Conard, xxxii, 112, Balzac affirme également que "nos idées, nos affections sont soumises aux mêmes lois qui font mouvoir le soleil, éclore les fleurs et vivre l'univers."



## THE THEME OF PENGUIN ISLAND

---

"Le 15 de janvier, dit le rédacteur des navigations aux terres australes, le vaisseau s'avança vers la grande *île des Pingouins* . . ."

"Il y a de par le monde, et pas bien loin d'ici, une île qu'on appelle l'*île des Pingouins* . . ."

"L'archange, descendu dans l'île des Pingouins, trouva le saint homme endormi au creux d'un rocher . . ."

THE FIRST OF THE ABOVE PASSAGES is given as a quotation by the collaborators of Buffon in the early editions,<sup>1</sup> and in all subsequent editions, of the *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*; it appears in the main text of the section entitled "Des Pingouins et des Manchots ou des Oiseaux sans ailes," where it forms part of the documentation. The second is taken from the curious and seemingly little-known *entreprise de librairie*, first published under the title of *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux*, in 1842 by the editor P.-J. Hetzel.<sup>2</sup> The third occurs in Anatole France's novel *L'Île des Pingouins*.<sup>3</sup> All three passages have in common the reference to an *île des Pingouins*, and nothing else. Yet there are reasons for supposing that this resemblance is not merely fortuitous; that the second passage presupposes in a sense the first, and the third the second; in short that the idea of the imaginary Penguin Island of the twentieth-century novel goes back to the voyage literature of the eighteenth and earlier centuries.

Among the many strange sights that confronted the gaze of the early travelers to far-off places, few appear to have intrigued them more than the spectacle of the penguins. The first account<sup>4</sup> of these queer denizens of the frigid zones apparently dates from the end of the sixteenth century: it is the one that was brought back by the members of a Dutch expedition which, in 1598, set out to explore the *terra australis* via the Straits of Magellan.<sup>5</sup> It was supplemented, in the following two cen-

1. *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*, published from 1770 to 1785 at Paris by the Imprimerie royale. In-8°. xviii, 60. In the following pages, we shall refer to this 18-volume series.

2. Paris, Hetzel et Paulin. 2 vol. gros in-8°, II, 298.

3. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, s. d. [14 Octobre 1908], p. 45.

4. Cf. Charles de l'Ecluse, *Exoticorum libri decem, quibus animalium, plantarum, aromatum . . . historiae describuntur*, Raphelengii ex officina plantiniana, 1605, p. 101. Cited by Buffon, *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

5. Cf. below, note 11, and *Histoire générale des voyages*, Paris, Didot, 1746, II, 215.

turies, by many other accounts: thus the historians of another Dutch voyage made in 1614,<sup>6</sup> those of an English voyage of 1615,<sup>7</sup> and those of an English expedition of 1669,<sup>8</sup> all devote considerable space, in their narratives, to descriptions of the penguins. Later, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Captain James Cook and his associate Forster have likewise much to say on the same subject.<sup>9</sup> These accounts, and others, were reproduced, in French versions, in the various collections of travel-literature, notably in the *Histoire générale des voyages*.

It is to such sources as these that the collaborators of Buffon turned for their information concerning the penguins. The first of the three passages that appear at the head of this article is typical in this respect; it is derived from an account, published shortly before by the Président de Brosses, of the Dutch expedition of 1598.<sup>10</sup> It is also typical of the other "sources" cited in the *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux* in that it mentions not only the penguins themselves, but also an island the name of which is derived from the latter.

Indeed, the place-designation *île des pingouins* appears several times in the article "Des Pingouins et des Manchots ou des Oiseaux sans ailes," and it takes on special prominence from the fact that Buffon's collaborators follow the example of the travel-historians in printing it in italics. The locations of these authentic Islands of the Penguins vary: the one "reported" by the voyagers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was situated in the Straits of Magellan, while Cook's mention of an *île des pingouins* occurs in his description of the southeast coast of Tasmania.<sup>11</sup>

These allusions, as they are reproduced in the Buffon work, already furnish two of the basic themes of Anatole France's novel: those namely of a remote, inaccessible island and of its inhabitants whose resemblance to man is so close as to deceive observers less preoccupied than a Saint Maël.<sup>12</sup>

6. *Histoire générale des voyages*, La Haye, De Hondt, 1757, xv, 162-63.

7. *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, Awnsham and John Churchill, 1704, I, 767, and Thévenot, *Relations de Voyages*, Paris, Langlois, 1663, I, "Journal de Roë."

8. *Histoire générale des voyages*, La Haye, De Hondt, 1757, xv, 175.

9. *Voyages to the Pacific Ocean*, Dublin, 1784, I, 95.

10. *Histoire des Navigations aux terres australes*, Paris, Durand, 1756, I, 286.

11. *Loc. cit.* Four Penguin Islands exist at the present day (*Times Gazetteer*, 1922). None of these corresponds to the Penguin Islands of the early travelers.

12. Cf. Thévenot, *loc. cit.*: "Dans l'Isle de Pynguin, l'on en void une sorte qu'on y appelle des Pynguins. . . C'est un estrange Oyseau, ou pour mieux dire un Monstre, qui tient de l'homme, en ce qu'il est droit sur ses pieds, de l'oyseau et du poisson . . ." *Histoire générale des voyages*, *loc. cit.*: ". . . on prendrait de loin (les pingouins) pour de petits enfants avec des tabliers blancs." (Cited by Buffon, *loc. cit.*, p. 57.)

The two-volume *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux*<sup>13</sup> constitutes a curious example of literary collaboration; the various compositions that go to make it up bear the signatures of such writers as Charles Nodier, Jules Janin, George Sand, Honoré de Balzac; and it is perhaps best known as a result of Alfred de Musset's contribution, the charming "Histoire d'un Merle blanc." The title-page of volume 1 reads as follows: *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux, vignettes par Grandville, Etudes de mœurs contemporaines publiées sous la direction de M. P.-J. Stahl*. "P.-J. Stahl" is a pseudonym of the editor Hetzel; the latter not only directed the enterprise as a whole but also wrote seven of the *Scènes*. The book was apparently written in direct collaboration with Grandville, who contributed the innumerable vignettes to which we shall refer later.

The work as a whole is a satirical fantasy, directed against the follies of men in general and against the social and political state of the Paris of the time in particular; the various animals whose doings and adventures are portrayed are in reality merely caricatures of human types and personalities. Volume 1 contains a preface, signed P.-J. Stahl, in which the purpose of the collection is set forth in the following terms:

Notre pensée, en publiant ce livre, a été d'ajouter la parole aux merveilleux Animaux de Grandville, et d'associer notre plume à son crayon, pour l'aider à critiquer les travers de notre époque, et, de préférence parmi ces travers, ceux qui sont de tous les temps et de tous les pays. Nous avons cru que, sous le couvert des Animaux, cette critique à double sens, où l'Homme se trouve joint à l'Animal, sans perdre de sa justesse, de sa clarté et de son à-propos, perdrait au moins de cette âpreté et de ce fiel qui font de la plume du critique une arme si dangereuse.

The work, in fact, represents a fusion of at least three separate traditions: that of the natural historians, who since Buffon had been producing faithful yet artistic descriptions (and also accurate drawings) of animals, birds, fish, reptiles, and who had not failed to establish often invidious comparisons between man and the lower animals; that of the moralists who even before a Molière, a La Bruyère, an Addison had been observing and satirizing human types; finally that of the caricaturists: the Hogarths, the Gavarnis and the Daumiers. It is typical of an entire group of works that were appearing in the period 1830-1850.

13. The work went through several subsequent editions: two for 1852 and one for 1867. This latter edition differs considerably from the first: some of the original *Scènes* have been omitted, and some new ones added. The "Vie et opinions philosophiques d'un Pingouin" is however retained. The work was also translated into German.

The chief contemporary influence in establishing the vogue of this satirical literature was Honoré de Balzac, and as regards the *Animaux* of Hetzel, there can be no doubt that Balzac was one of the leading spirits in the venture. He contributed no less than four *Scènes*,<sup>14</sup> being exceeded in this respect only by Hetzel himself, and the very title of the work is modeled upon the designations of the subdivisions of the *Comédie humaine*; the subtitle *Etudes de mœurs contemporaines* removes all doubt concerning the relationship. In his "Aventures d'un papillon" Hetzel takes the opportunity of "advertizing" Balzac when he speaks of "une vieille Demoiselle, qu'une lecture intelligente de la *Physiologie du mariage* avait confirmée dans ses idées de célibat."<sup>15</sup> And Balzac, in his letters to Madame Hanska, refers frequently to his business dealings with Hetzel.<sup>16</sup> Under these circumstances, and in view of what we know concerning Balzac's preoccupation with that "comparaison entre l'Humanité et l'Animalité"<sup>17</sup> that was at the basis of the novelist's own method, it seems safe to assume that Balzac was the leading light in the matter of the material and method of treatment of the *Animaux*, and that he suggested and outlined the topics to be treated.<sup>18</sup>

It is here that the question of the influence of Buffon arises. For there can be no doubt that Balzac knew intimately, and was profoundly influenced by, the *Histoire naturelle*, of which edition after edition appeared during his whole life time. One has but to glance through the pages of the *Comédie humaine*, and above all of the minor works, to be convinced of the fact. The method employed by Balzac in descriptions of the characters of his novels recalls clearly the manner of Buffon's animal-portrayals. It is therefore not surprising to find in the *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux* unmistakable evidences of a direct influence by the *Histoire naturelle*.

The very title of the Hetzel work of course suggests this. The *animaux* whose *Vie privée et publique* forms the subject-matter of the collection are descendants of the quadrupeds, birds, fish, reptiles that

14. "Peines de cœur d'une Chatte anglaise"; "Guide-âne à l'usage des animaux qui veulent parvenir aux honneurs"; "Voyage d'un lion d'Afrique à Paris"; "Amours de deux Bêtes."

15. I, 127.

16. Cf. Balzac, *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1906, II, 424, 429; *ibid.*, III, 14, 62, 218 and elsewhere.

17. *Avant-propos de la Comédie humaine*; *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, Conard, 1912, I, xxv.

18. The basic idea of the work, that namely of an attributing of human characteristics to the animals of the Jardin des Plantes, is to be found as early as 1830 in Balzac, in the *Etudes de Philosophie morale sur les habitants du Jardin des Plantes*. Buffon is mentioned in this little sketch. At this period Balzac was greatly interested in the work of the artist Grandville (cf. *Mœurs aquatiques*, *Voyage pour l'éternité*); the latter's animal-human caricatures were perhaps decisive in bringing to Balzac's attention the possibilities of that comparison of man and the animals which later became the keystone of the novelist's method.

are described with so much precision and art in the numerous volumes of the Buffon treatise. The name of the great naturalist occurs occasionally in the later *Scènes*, for example in Hetzel's "Histoire d'un Lièvre," where we are told that "Buffon a écrit des Lièvres: 'Leur chair est excellente, leur sang même est très-bon à manger. . .'"<sup>19</sup> But the most convincing proof of all of this influence, and the one that renders unnecessary any detailed comparison of texts, is to be found in the countless vignettes that accompany the text of the *Scènes de la Vie des animaux*, and which constitute the chief attraction of the work.<sup>20</sup> These clever drawings, the chef-d'œuvre of the artist Grandville, in spite of the human postures, expressions and costumes which characterize their portrayal of the animals, yet reveal such an intimate knowledge of the most typical details of the natural appearance and habits of the latter, that it is impossible not to conclude that they were inspired by the excellent drawings of the various editions of the *Histoire naturelle*. The rôle that these illustrations played in establishing the immense popularity of the latter work is well-known, and if, as M. Mornet has shown,<sup>21</sup> the *Œuvres* of Buffon occur more frequently in French private libraries of the late eighteenth century than any other eighteenth-century work, this was largely due to the interest aroused by the *planches*. It may be objected that the artist of the *Scènes de la Vie des animaux*, having at his disposition the living models of the Jardin des Plantes, did not need to resort to the Buffon portrayals, and indeed, the last illustration to the main text of volume II shows the artist Grandville, who has assumed the official function of illustrator for the Animals, sketching from life the human inhabitants of the Animal "Jardin des Plantes," the cages of which are now occupied by the humans Musset, Balzac, George Sand, etc.! But this does not alter the fact that the very idea of the animal-pictures must have been inspired by Buffon, and that the work of the artists of the *Histoire naturelle* must have been consulted as the chief guide to the pictorial method and approach. It is also doubtful that the Jardin des Plantes contained specimens of all the living creatures: animals, birds, insects, fish, reptiles, whose images fill the pages of the Hetzel collection.<sup>22</sup> A careful comparison of the engravings of the latter work with those of the earlier scientific treatise

19. I, 52.

20. Balzac himself was under no illusion concerning the literary value of the Hetzel collection. In his letter of January 26, 1843 to Mme Hanska he refers to "un de ces ouvrages stupides comme la *Vie privée des animaux*, qui se vendent à vingt-cinq mille exemplaires à cause des vignettes, et où j'ai fait les *Peines de cœur d'une Chatte anglaise*."

21. *Les Sciences de la Nature en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Colin, 1911, p. 248.

22. Grandville seems first to have used animal likenesses in his political satires *Métamorphoses du jour*, 1829.

would certainly bring to light much evidence of a direct influence. We shall undertake that comparison for one only of the *Scènes* from the *Vie des Animaux*, the one that is most intimately connected with our present topic, and which bears the (for us) significant title of "Vie et Opinions philosophiques d'un Pingouin."

This composition, which occupies forty pages, is signed "P.-J. Stahl," and was therefore written by Hetzel himself. Did Balzac suggest the subject, and recommend that Hetzel consult Buffon's discussion "Des Pingouins"? We can only say that something of the sort may have occurred. Certainly there is nothing to suggest the idea of a continued collaboration on the part of Balzac, as the *Scène* is entirely lacking in that verve and originality which characterize even the minor works of the novelist; it is in fact trivial and insipid to a degree. The theme is treated in autobiographical form; the Penguin tells of his birth, his first philosophical reflections on the immensity of the universe, which he feels should be more proportionate to the minuteness and insignificance of a Penguin; above all he regrets that the inhabitants of the world should live in a constant state of enmity towards one another, and he asks:

Est-ce qu'un petit monde, tout petit, dans lequel il n'y aurait de place que pour des amis, que pour ceux qui s'aiment, ne vaudrait pas cent fois mieux que ce grand monde, que ce grand gouffre dans lequel tout se perd . . . où il y a de l'espace, non-seulement pour des créatures qui se détestent, mais encore pour des peuples entiers qui se volent, qui se frappent, qui se tuent, qui se mangent?<sup>23</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to point out the extent to which such a passage recalls at once the "utopistic" attitude that is to be associated with much of the earlier travel-literature, and the later irony of an Anatole France. The Penguin's philosophizing leads him to attempt to commit suicide by jumping into the sea; he then discovers he can swim, abandons his suicide project, falls in love with a Laughing Gull (*Mouette rieuse*), meets a Gannet, who, in the words of the second passage quoted at the head of the present article, tells him of Penguin Island. On this island, he learns, are to be found only birds of his kind; consequently he would there be no uglier than any one else, and might even be considered handsome. Since the Laughing Gull has scorned him because of his ugliness, the Penguin decides to take the Gannet's advice and accompany him to Penguin Island. Again there is the suggestion of a search for a utopia.

23. Page 284.



The Penguin and his companion set out, but are driven by a tempest to an island called *l'île Heureuse*. The Gannet explains the name as follows:

L'île Heureuse n'a été ainsi nommée que parce que ses habitants apportent tous en naissant une si furieuse envie d'être heureux, que leur vie tout entière se passe à essayer de satisfaire cette envie.<sup>24</sup>

The entire section dealing with the Happy Island is in fact a satire directed against the followers of Fourier. Finally the two travelers arrive at the *île des Pingouins*, and the last sections of the *Scène* deal with the adventures of the hero in that island. He is received by the king of the Penguins, who gives him his daughter in marriage. The Penguin, however, is not satisfied in his heart; he sets out once more to seek her whom he had loved, but, having found his Laughing Gull in the company of an "ignoble Cormoran," decides to settle down and become a good husband, a good father and a good prince. "Et je mis à la voile pour l'île des Pingouins," he says. Later he meets once more his former friend the Gannet, who makes fun of his pretensions to happiness, exclaiming

Mais où avez-vous pris, Pingouin que vous êtes, qu'on pouvait être heureux? est-ce qu'on est heureux? . . . D'ailleurs, si vous êtes malheureux, attendez, le temps détruit tout.<sup>25</sup>

The *Scène* ends on this note.

To what extent is it possible to detect reminiscences of Buffon's account of the Penguins in this little allegory? It is dangerous to be too affirmative, for there were doubtless, in 1842, many other descriptions of the appearance and habits of the penguins to which the author of the "Vie d'un Pingouin" might have had recourse. Yet it is perhaps not too much to say that the *Histoire naturelle* was the most obvious source for a writer of that period, and above all, it seems certain that any other discussion that may have existed must have followed closely the section in Buffon, who still was regarded as the supreme authority. At all events, there are several striking resemblances between Hetzel's treatment and that of the great eighteenth-century naturalist.

Thus at page 283 the young Penguin describes his first impression of his environment in a rather striking manner when he says:

Ainsi, des rochers et la mer, des pierres et de l'eau, un horizon sans bornes, l'immensité enfin, et moi au milieu comme un atome, voilà ce que je vis d'abord.

24. Page 301.

25. Page 319.



He goes on to complain, in the words already quoted above, of the cruelty and destructiveness of nature. This recalls, a bit vaguely it is true, the following remarks that occur at page 55 of the Buffon volume and in which is discussed the natural habitat of the penguins:

Nous les voyons . . . habiter ces plages devenues inaccessibles à toutes les autres espèces d'animaux, et où ces seuls oiseaux semblent réclamer contre la destruction et l'anéantissement.

Both passages exhibit considerable similarity of tone in their portrayal of the desolate bleakness of the remote islands.

In the course of his adventures the young Penguin meets several other birds. It is in no way surprising that the latter should figure in the pages of the *Histoire naturelle*,<sup>26</sup> since this contains discussions of a vast number of ornithological varieties. It is, however, somewhat striking that Hetzel's *Scène* introduces rather exotic and unheard-of species, and it is difficult to see how the Parisian editor would have come to know their names without having consulted *some* work on natural history. The Laughing Gull is perhaps an exception, for Buffon tells us that this bird existed in some parts of the British Isles. Even, however, if Hetzel was able to observe specimens in the Jardin des Plantes, he could scarcely have been able to witness, in the cramped quarters of the zoological garden, certain of the bird's habits to which Buffon alludes, and which enter into the description of the "Vie d'un Pingouin." On page 289 there is this description of the *mouette rieuse*:

. . . charmantes créatures vivant, parlant, volant, chantant, caquetant, ayant des plumes, ayant des ailes . . . mais tout cela dans un degré de perfection telle, que je ne doutai pas un instant que ce ne fussent des habitants d'un monde plus parfait . . . car elles jouaient et mettaient à leur jeu beaucoup d'ardeur, faisant de leur corps tout ce qu'elles voulaient, rasant tour à tour la terre et l'eau de leurs ailes légères, avec une souplesse et une vivacité dont je ne songeais même pas à être jaloux, tant elles dépassaient tout ce que j'aurais osé imaginer.

The following is the account of the habits of the same bird on page 233 of the Buffon text:

La quantité de plumes dont elle est revêtue la rend très-légère, aussi vole-t-elle presque continuellement sur les eaux, et pour le peu de temps qu'elle est à terre, on l'y voit très remuante et très active; elle est aussi fort criarde.

The similarity is general, but it is undeniable. The same thing may be said of the two authors' description of the laughing gull's appearance;

26. All but one (the *oie frisée*) of the birds mentioned by Hetzel are discussed in the Buffon treatise.

according to Buffon the female bird has "le front et la gorge marqués de blanc; le manteau est cendré-bleuâtre et le reste du corps blanc,"<sup>27</sup> while Hetzel speaks of its "élégant manteau bleu couleur de temps, son corps blanc comme neige et sa preste allure."<sup>28</sup>

The general description, by Hetzel, of the penguins themselves contains at first sight nothing that would tend to prove a direct influence of the *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*. At page 310 the aspect of the inhabitants of the *île des Pingouins* is alluded to by the young Penguin in the following terms

Deux ou trois cents individus de mon espèce qui étaient rangés sur la côte et comme en bataille; est-ce pour nous faire honneur ou pour nous mal recevoir que ces Oiseaux, mes frères, bordent ainsi le rivage?

It is true that Buffon, basing his assertions as usual on a travel account, mentions the pugnacious habits of the birds.<sup>29</sup> When, however, we come to the description of the king of the Penguins and of his daughter, a resemblance to the earlier work seems to be discernible. The princess is represented as a paragon of her species: she has wider feet, a thicker waist, smaller eyes, a yellower beak than any of the king's feminine subjects; above all she is distinguished by "une espèce de palatine qui s'arrondit gracieusement sur son dos."<sup>30</sup> This detail may be a reminiscence of Buffon, who, quoting Bougainville's description of the *Grand Manchot* of the Falkland Islands, says in part of this bird:

Une palatine jonquille, qui, partant de la tête, coupe ces masses de bleu . . . et va se terminer sur l'estomac, lui donne un grand air de magnificence.<sup>31</sup>

As for the king himself, the young Penguin has this to say of his appearance:

[Les pingouins] nous conduisirent, avec toutes sortes de prévenances, vers un vieux Manchot, qu'ils nous dirent être le roi de l'île, et qui l'était en effet; ce qui ne nous étonna pas quand nous le vîmes, car c'était le plus gros Manchot qu'on pût voir.<sup>32</sup>

And Buffon, reproducing this time the words of Forster, the narrator of Cook's voyages, presents the following picture of the large southern penguin (*grand manchot*):

Diverses troupes de ces pingouins, les plus gros que j'aie jamais vus . . .

27. *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*, xvi, 237.

28. Page 298.

29. *Op. cit.*, xviii, 95-96.

30. Page 314.

31. *Op. cit.*, xviii, 86.

32. Page 310.

erraient sur la côte [à la Nouvelle Géorgie]. Leur ventre était d'une grosseur énorme, et couvert d'une grande quantité de graisse. . . . Ce sont, je pense, ceux que nos Anglais ont nommés aux îles Falkland, *pingouins jaunes* ou *pingouins rois*.<sup>33</sup>

It seems significant that Hetzel should have described the king of Penguin Island as a *gros manchot*, for it is precisely this variety of penguin that, as Buffon records, the English called *king penguin*.

Finally and above all, the differentiation thus established between the penguin proper (northern penguin: Fr. *pingouin*) and the penguin of the south seas (Fr. *manchot*) is adhered to in the vignette portraying the king of the *île des Pingouins*,<sup>34</sup> just as it is brought out in the illustrations accompanying the Buffon text. The *pingouin*, among other distinguishing features, has a heavy, relatively short and furrowed beak, whereas the beak of the *manchot* is quite long, narrow, and straight. In the Grandville drawings, the king of the Penguins, who belongs to the *manchot* group, closely resembles in this respect the *grand manchot* pictured in one of the *planches* of the *Histoire naturelle*; the young Penguin, on the other hand, is portrayed with a beak exactly like that shown in Buffon's pictorial presentation of the *pingouin* or true penguin.<sup>35</sup>

Did Anatole France "use" the Hetzel work in his composition of *L'île des Pingouins*? In the first place it must be pointed out that there exist certain very striking similarities of a general nature between the *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux* as a whole and the novel. The basic idea that is common to both works, that namely of an implicit assimilation of man to the lower animals, is in itself significant, in spite of the fact that in the *île des Pingouins* it is not carried very far: once the penguins have been baptized by Saint Maël their subsequent history is treated as though they were truly men. But, in the France novel, all the paraphernalia of pretence that go to establish the satirical history of the imaginary society of the Penguins on a footing of poetic verisimilitude, recall to a remarkable degree the analogous devices employed by Hetzel. In the *Préface* of the novel, the chronicler of Penguin Island proposes to investigate and to record "l'histoire des Pingouins"; similarly the *Scènes de la Vie des animaux* purport to be an account of the "histoire nationale" of the Animal society.<sup>36</sup> The latter

33. *Op. cit.*, XVIII, 85.

34. Facing p. 311.

35. *Op. cit.*, XVIII, facing p. 78 and p. 86.

36. I, 21-22; II, 44-45.

history is supposed to be written by the animals themselves, with the collaboration of the obliging editor P.-J. Stahl and of the "illustrator" Grandville;<sup>37</sup> the animal society, which is represented as suffering beneath the tyranny of man, is that of the Jardin des Plantes; when the representatives of the Animals meet to discuss the projected annals of the "nation animale," the Mole objects:

La Taupe s'y oppose; elle aime le mystère; elle dit qu'il faut se garder de porter ainsi la lumière partout.<sup>38</sup>

All of which reminds one of certain details of the exposition of Anatole France: the historiographer of the Penguins utilizes the chronicle of "Johannès Talpa, religieux du monastère de Beargarden," who expatiates upon the dangers that confront him who would throw light upon past history.<sup>39</sup> Thus France's scepticism here contains something of the idea that is expressed by the Mole, and it is curious that the name *Talpa* should occur; can it be that the monk of the monastery of Beargarden is a reminiscence of the Mole of the Jardin des Plantes? Again, in the novel, the chronicler of Penguin Island, when seeking information on the subject of early Penguin art, approaches the specialist M. Fulgence Tapir, whose eyesight is bad but who uses his "nez allongé, mobile, doué d'un tact exquis" to explore the external world;<sup>40</sup> clearly this is another suggestion of the idea of an animal society portrayed by animals, after the manner of the *Animaux peints par eux-mêmes*.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the historian of Anatole France's Penguins would appear to belong to a race or variety of the animal kingdom, a variety that is almost extinct and of which only a few specimens are preserved in a sort of museum, for we are told, at page iii of the *Préface*, that:

Il est des historiens; la race n'en est point entièrement disparue. On en conserve cinq ou six à l'Académie des sciences morales.

Plainly, like Hetzel, though with a much greater lightness of touch, Anatole France aimed at adopting that "critique à double sens, où l'Homme se trouve joint à l'Animal," the merits of which had been set forth by his predecessor in the passage already quoted.

The history of France's Penguins, like that of Hetzel's *Animaux*, is a turbulent one. Wars, revolutions, usurpations of power play a prominent rôle in both accounts. The historian of Penguin Island assures us in

37. I, 22.

38. I, 21-22.

39. *Préface*, pp. ii-iii.

40. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

41. This was a tentative title that Hetzel planned to give to the collection of the *Animaux*.

his "Préface" that "la vie d'un peuple est un tissu de crimes, de misères et de folies," while in volume II of the Hetzel work we learn that "chez les Bêtes comme chez les Hommes, les révolutions se suivent et se ressemblent" (page 381). The first volume of the *Scènes de la Vie des animaux* opens with a reunion of the inhabitants of the Jardin des Plantes; they are met to consider the measures to be taken against the tyrant Man; the Tiger, in a stirring oration, proclaims that the reign of "cet animal dégénéré qu'on appelle l'Homme" is finished, and announces that it is time that "l'empire du globe" return to the Animals (page 12). No decision is reached, however, and there is no account of an actual revolution until we come to the second volume, where the civil discord of the Animals is described at length. The party of the "factieux," whose intention is to "exciter la Nation Animale à la révolte et d'obtenir, le glaive en main, ce qu'il leur plaît d'appeler une réforme générale," is led by a Scarab, *le Scarabée Hercule* (page 5). There follows a detailed burlesque description of the *révolution animale*. The entire passage recalls remarkably, in certain of its details, the accounts of the royalist uprising and of the Pyrot affair in *L'Île des Pingouins*. The first signs of the disturbance are detected by the *savants astronomes* of the Animal Nation (page 2), who remind us at once of the two sturgeons in the France novel who foresee the future history of Penguin Island by observing a change in the appearance of the moon (page 158), and of the astronomer Bidault-Coquille who intervenes in the *affaire Pyrot* (page 273); like the Animal astronomers, the latter is finally reduced to a state of complete scepticism concerning the truth and justice of the political events in which he becomes involved.<sup>42</sup> The leaders of the revolt of the Animals: the *Scarabée Hercule*, the Fox, the Elephant, recall vaguely the instigators of the revolution of the Penguins of Anatole France: the priest Agaric, the Prince des Boscénos and the Admiral Chatillon. In the one account as in the other, there are private intrigues, proclamations are issued, popular gatherings take place in the streets (in the case of the Animals, one of these is led by *trois manchots*),<sup>43</sup> patriotic and partisan songs are sung,<sup>44</sup> notices are posted on the walls of buildings,<sup>45</sup> governmental assemblies are held. The various machinations of the opposed parties are described. The officials of the Animals issue a decree against "les Canards et autres Animaux socialistes qui ont la manie de se réunir en groupes" (page

42. France, pp. 310-311; Hetzel, II, 3.

43. Page 25.

44. Hetzel, p. 13; France, pp. 222 and 226.

45. Hetzel, p. 24; France, p. 255.

10), while in the course of the Penguin disturbances the government has eighteen socialists arrested (page 379). A *Chatte française* persuades her husband, who has always been an exemplary citizen, to place himself at the head of the Animal *mécontents* (page 13); the Viscountess Olive induces Admiral Chatillon to head the rebellion of the Penguin royalists. And so on: however different the details of the two accounts may be, there is a marked similarity of theme and of general treatment.

This similarity becomes still more apparent when we come to compare the "Vie et Opinions philosophiques d'un Pingouin" with the later novel. The gloomy philosophizing of the young Penguin, the picture he paints of the mutual hatred and enmity that exist between all living creatures, harmonize with Anatole France's account of the Penguins, who are in a state of constant war against the Dolphins (*Marsouins*).<sup>46</sup> In the novel as in the "Vie," the nation of the Penguins is often referred to as *la Pingouinie*.<sup>47</sup> The young Penguin's journey to the *île des Pingouins* is interrupted by a violent storm (page 299); Saint Maël has the same experience as he sails forth to reconvert the inhabitants of the *île d'Hædic*: the tempest blows him towards Penguin Island (page 17). The traveling-companion of the young Penguin introduces him to *l'île Heureuse* (page 300); the Saint, upon landing on Penguin Island, says to the Lord: "Seigneur, voici l'île des larmes, l'île de la contrition" (page 20). The king of the Penguins, in the Hetzel story, wears an "antique bonnet phrygien, qui, de temps immémorial, servait de couronne aux rois de ce pays" (page 312); the monarchs of France's Penguin Island wear the equally ancient and traditional "crête du dragon" (page 108). Saint Maël's action in baptizing the Penguins causes consternation in heaven; the Lord and his saints enter into a long discussion of the theological problems involved (pages 25ff.); there is a similar allusion to the question of the ultimate salvation of the penguins in the "Vie d'un Pingouin," when the young Penguin, in the course of his philosophizing, asks:

Que penses-tu des Pingouins, Dieu suprême? Que feras-tu d'eux au jour du jugement? A quoi as-tu songé quand tu as promis la resurrection des corps? Importait-il donc à ta gloire de créer un oiseau sans plumes, un poisson sans nageoires,<sup>48</sup> un bipède sans pieds (page 288)?

46. *Préface*, p. x.

47. Hetzel, p. 315; France, *Préface*, p. ix.

48. Cf. Buffon (*op. cit.*, xviii, 44): "les pingouins et les manchots paraissent faire la nuance entre les oiseaux et les poissons; en effet ils ont au lieu d'ailes, de petits ailerons, que l'on dirait couverts d'écailles plutôt que de plumes, et qui leur servent de nageoires. . . ."



These are not the only similarities of detail that could be pointed out between the two texts.

They will however suffice to show something of the extent to which Anatole France was influenced, in his imaginary account of Penguin Island, by the Hetzel volumes in general, and by the "Vie and Opinions philosophiques d'un Pingouin" in particular. But are we really justified in saying "was influenced?" Is it not possible that the parallels that we have established are purely accidental? We shall admit, for the sake of the argument, that their somewhat vague and commonplace character would appear to leave some room for honest doubt. Is it not possible to point to some resemblance that is absolutely conclusive, a precise similarity of wording in an unusual context, or a peculiar notion or image that is common to both works?

We have been able to discover only one piece of evidence that would appear to fulfill these requirements, but it involves a detail so curious and so striking that it would seem quite definitely to dispose of the question. On page 171 of the novel *L'Île des Pingouins* there occurs a satirical description of the conquests of the national hero Trinco, who led *la Pingouinie* to the brink of ruin but whose military exploits brought to the nation that most treasured of all possessions—*la gloire*. (The satire of the Napoleonic era of French history is obvious.) Trinco, we are told, extended the Penguin domination over the archipelago of the *Turquoises* and over the *Continent Vert*; he vanquished "la sombre Marsouinie" and planted his standards in the icefields of the pole and in the burning sands of the African desert. He raised troops in all the lands that he subjugated, and, when his legions marched past, one would see, marching in the rear of the Penguin light-infantrymen and of the Insular grenadiers, the exotic battalions of the vanquished nations. It is in the description of the latter that we find the following remarkable comparison: the foreign soldiers, in their blue armour, are said to resemble *des écrevisses dressées sur leurs queues* (page 172). Where, one asks oneself, did France find this idea, which is as unusual as it is grotesque? The mystery is solved when we turn to volume II of the *Scènes de la Vie privée et publique des animaux*; there, on page 27, we find the following passage in the account of the Animal Revolution:

Plusieurs Buissons d'Ecrevisses, échappés par miracle des prisons de Chevet et conduits par un valeureux Cancre, sont venus nous offrir le secours de leurs vaillantes pinces.

And beneath, in one of the smaller vignettes that appear inserted in the text itself, is portrayed a company of prawns in battle array, raised on



their tails, and projecting their feelers in the air in the manner of lances.

There thus appears to be no reasonable room for doubting that the story of Penguin Island goes back, through the popular and satirical literature of the middle nineteenth century, to the travel-accounts of the mariners<sup>49</sup> who, in the days when the remote islands of the world were apt to be associated with glamorous possibilities of primitivistic utopism, or at least of a separate and unsullied historical development, told of the lonely haunts of the strange, man-like penguins. It was perhaps inevitable that imaginative literature should some day seize upon such promising material, and create a variety of saga involving a hypothetical penguin "society." The discoveries and observations of a Roe or of an Adams find so to speak their logical complement in the satirical fantasy of an Anatole France, who, in an age grown sceptical of utopias, uses the theme as a vehicle for his biting ironical presentation of human history.<sup>50</sup>

W. T. E. KENNETT

St. John's College

49. Anatole France himself was apparently an inveterate reader of the *Histoire générale des voyages*. Cf. *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, n. d., p. 24.

50. Professor M. E. Coindreau has drawn my attention to another literary exploitation of the Penguin Island theme. The work in question is contained in volume 1 of a rare publication entitled *Recreations of the Rabelais Club*, which appeared in London in 1881 (Guildford, Billing and son, printers). It bears the title "Penguink (*sic*) Island: A Pantagruelic Adventure." In it, certain of the heroes of Rabelais are represented as setting out on a voyage of adventure. They reach an unknown island, which Epistemon identifies as Penguink Island. Panurge speaks to the inhabitants, and discovers that they understand only Latin. The Penguinks are birds resembling men; the only nourishment in which they take delight is printer's ink and binder's glue. Ordinary men become transformed into Penguinks simply by partaking in sufficient quantity of this fare. The allegory is obvious; the Penguinks represent the scholars, writers and in general men of letters.

## AN UNPUBLISHED DESCRIPTION OF NAPLES BY FRANCESCO BANDINI

---

ALTHOUGH THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE has long been a favorite topic of historical studies, there is still to be found an amazing amount of unedited documents and literary compositions which may not be of sufficient importance to change our general knowledge of the period, but which in most cases could serve to illustrate some interesting aspect of its cultural life. Among these items is an unpublished description of Naples by the Florentine Francesco Bandini de' Baroncelli, most attractive for its form and content, now preserved in a beautiful manuscript of the Pierpont Morgan Library.

The author is not an unknown person. Although his modest literary activity has not been studied so far, he has attracted the attention of several historians, especially because of his noble family and because of his intimate connection with the circle of the Platonic Academy in Florence and with the court of the famous king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus.<sup>1</sup> Let us briefly report what we know about his life and personality. We do not know the date and place of his birth, but probably he was born in Florence about or after 1440. According to Ammirato, he was the son of Giovanni di Piero and became a priest.<sup>2</sup> That he spent his youth in Florence he says himself explicitly,<sup>3</sup> and a family document bearing his name and dated 1469 is quoted by Ammirato.<sup>4</sup> He tells us himself that during his stay in Florence he was chiefly interested in the fine arts, in music and in the studies of philosophy, literature and history, that he lived in close personal association with the artists and scholars of his city, that he enjoyed attending the splendid feasts and spectacles there, and that he liked himself to entertain his friends at his home and country houses in conversations and symposia and to remain in correspondence with them when he was out of town.<sup>5</sup> These assertions are confirmed and completed by other sources.

1. "Scipione Ammirato, Della famiglia de' Baroncelli e Bandini," in: *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, xvii, Florence, 1783, 212 (Ammirato lived from 1531 to 1601, and his article was published long after his death from a manuscript by Padre Ildefonso di San Luigi). Arnaldo Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Florence, 1902, p. 768 f. J. Huszti, "Tendenze platonizzanti alla corte di Mattia Corvino," part III: "Francesco Bandini ed i Platonici ungheresi," *Giornale Critico della filosofia italiana*, xi [1930], 135 ff.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Cf. our description f. 3 ff.

4. "Veggonsi memorie di lui dell'anno 1469 nel qual tempo fa una cura in Guasparri suo zio" (*ibid.*).

5. Cf. our description f. 4 ff.

Francesco Bandini is not only listed among the members of the Platonic Academy in Ficino's well known catalogue of his pupils and friends,<sup>6</sup> but whenever Ficino mentions the famous symposia held by his circle on Plato's birthday, Bandini's role is so strongly emphasized that we have reason to assume that he was not only the host at those remarkable gatherings, but also was responsible for the whole idea of holding them. As a matter of fact, we know only of two occasions in which the "Platonic Symposia" were actually celebrated.<sup>7</sup> One is described in Ficino's *Commentarium in Platonis Convivium de amore* and probably took place on November 7, 1468.<sup>8</sup> Ficino tells in his introduction that Lorenzo de' Medici, planning to renew the ancient custom of the "Platonic Symposia," appointed Francesco Bandini as the organizer of the symposium and that Bandini fixed the date of the celebration, chose and invited the participants—including Ficino himself—and gave them a generous entertainment in Careggi. Those present were Antonio degli Agli, Bishop of Fiesole, Ficino's father, Cristoforo Landino, Bernardo Nuti, Tommaso Benci, Giovanni Cavalcanti, the brothers Cristoforo and Carlo Marsuppini and Marsilio Ficino.<sup>9</sup> After dinner, the text of Plato's *Symposium* was read and its single speeches were interpreted in turn by some of the present guests whose words were supposedly reported in Ficino's dialogue.<sup>10</sup> The other symposium is mentioned in a letter of Ficino to Jacopo Bracciolini and probably took place on November 7, 1473.<sup>11</sup> It was celebrated in Florence by Francesco Bandini, probably in his house, and those present were Jacopo Bracciolini, Bindaccio Ricasoli, Giovanni Cavalcanti, Ficino himself and some other friends of their circle. There was also a discussion about various philosophical matters, and especially about the nature of the rational soul which is stated to be placed on the borderline between the eternal and temporal things. It is this discussion to which Ficino refers in his letter, claiming to report its conclusions.<sup>12</sup> Both symposia and

6. Ficinus, *Opera*, Basle, 1576, p. 937.

7. Cf. Della Torre, *op. cit.*, p. 814 ff. I disagree with the chronology given by Della Torre.

8. This year (the day and month are given by Ficino himself) is the most likely one if we hold that the work *De amore* was composed in 1469 as I tried to prove (*Supplementum Ficinianum*, Florence, 1937, I, cxxiv).

9. "Tandem nostris temporibus vir clarissimus Laurentius Medices Platonium convivium innovaturus Franciscum Bandinum architriclinum constituit. Cum igitur septimum novembris diem colere Bandinus instituisset, regio apparatu in agro Caregio novem Platonicos accepit convivas. . . . Me denique nonum Bandinus esse voluit" (Ficinus, *Opera*, 1320 f.).

10. *Ibid.* p. 1321 ff.

11. The letter is found on p. 657 f. in the neighborhood of several other letters dated April 1474. If it belongs to the same period, we must conclude that the Symposium took place on November 7 of the preceding year.

12. "Novi autem Platonici Braccioline et urbana et suburbana nostris temporibus (sc.

Bandini's part in them are again mentioned in another letter of Ficino written a few years later to Bandini himself.<sup>13</sup> In a letter written by Bandini about that time and quoted by Ammirato, he asks to be remembered to Ficino, Landino and Jacopo Bracciolini.<sup>14</sup> Ficino himself, probably in April 1474, wrote a letter to Bandini in which he quotes the beginning words of his recently composed *Theologia Platonica* and also refers to a previous letter sent by Bandini to Ficino and to Giovanni Cavalcanti.<sup>15</sup>

About this time, Bandini probably had already left Florence forever. Ammirato reports without further documentation that he spent some time in Naples and in Rome.<sup>16</sup> At least his stay in Naples is further attested by Masuccio Salernitano who dedicated to him one of his stories<sup>17</sup> and by the description of that city which we are going to publish. From the description we gather that he lived there for quite a long time with his father, that he enjoyed his stay and planned to remain there permanently, and that he had some connection with the court of King Ferrante.<sup>18</sup> This connection is also indicated by the adulatory remarks about the king, his family and the political situation in Naples which constitute a good part of the description, and which obviously were destined to be read by himself, since the only preserved

Platonis natalitia) celebrarunt, suburbana quidem apud magnanimum Laurentium Medicem in agro Caregio culta in libro nostro de amore narrantur, urbana vero Florentiae sumptu regio celebravit Franciscus Bandinus vir ingenio magnificentiaque excellens, ubi tu et Bindaccius Ricasolanus et Joannes Cavalcantes noster alique academici multi discubuerunt, ego quoque interfui. Atque ex multis et variis quae in eo convivio disputavimus illud in primis mecum ipse saepe meditator ac tibi libenter hodie recensebo quod ante epulas de animae natura conclusimus . . . anima rationalis quemadmodum omnes ibi convenimus in horizonte, i.e. in confinio eternitatis et temporis posita est . . . (*ibid.*).

13. "Bandinus ille meus, qui divi Platonis natalitia quondam Florentiae suis sumptibus et apparatu regio celebravit in urbe atque etiam extra urbem, dum convivium idem apud clarissimos Medices nostros instauraretur, primus interfuit" (*Opera*, 782, reprinted in: E. Abel, and St. Hegedues, *Analecta Nova ad historiam renascentium in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest 1903, p. 274).

14. "Una volta che egli di Firenze si parte, e lascia un suo memoriale, che alcune cose si faccino, fra l'altre cose dice: Visitate per mia parte Mess. Marsilio e Mess. Cristofano da Pontevocchio (i.e. Pratovecchio) e Jacopo di Mess. Poggio, e a loro mille volte mi raccomandate" (Ammirato, *ibid.*).

15. "Bandinus autem qui lyncéis oculis ut ita dicam introspicit, unicam ad unicum scripsit epistulam (i.e. to Ficino and Cavalcanti), in ea Marsilium appellat immortalem atque divinum . . . polliceris honorare nos cum primum poteris. Iamdiu divum Platonem eiusque cultores magnifice honorasti. Nunc quoque honoras cum polliceris" (*Opera*, 660). This letter also was probably written about April 1474.

16. " . . . habitò gran tempo in Napoli, e in Roma" (*ibid.*).

17. Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino*, ed. A. Mauro, Bari, 1940, p. 283. The novella xxxv is addressed *A lo egregio Misser Francisco Bandini nobile Fiorentino*, and the author dedicates him his story, as he says in the preface, "per averme la toa elegante dottrina dal primo di che te cognobbi insino a qui con carità non piccola comunicata."

18. In the preface Bandini calls the king his patron, *Signore mio*.

copy of the little composition comes from the king's own library and was written by a copyist working for the king.<sup>19</sup> The fact that Masuccio dedicated a story to Bandini also points in the same direction, since all other stories of Masuccio are dedicated to members of the royal family and of the court. Although we cannot exactly determine the duration of Bandini's stay in Naples, it must have been some time between 1474 and 1476. If our chronology of Ficino's letters is correct, Bandini was still in Florence on November 7, 1473, but had left before April 1474.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand we know from one of his letters that on October 12, 1476 he was no longer in Naples.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore Masuccio's *Novellino* was printed in 1476, perhaps after the author's death,<sup>22</sup> and 1476 also is the year in which the copyist of our manuscript was working for King Ferrante.<sup>23</sup> We have thus reason to believe that our little description was composed and copied in 1476 or shortly before. The reason why Bandini left Florence seems to have been political, and it is our description which suggests such an opinion. However, it is not easy to give a precise judgment about Bandini's relations to the Medici family. Some scholars asserted that he was involved in the Pazzi plot and went into exile after its failure in 1478.<sup>24</sup> This opinion is based on the fact that one of his relatives, Bernardo Bandini, was one of the most active participants of that plot, and that Francesco Bandini himself lived for many years in Hungary. But we know from the documents that he left Florence long before the plot, that he was in friendly correspondence with Lorenzo de' Medici in 1476 and 1477, and that he sent him his condolences on the murder of his brother Giuliano after the plot in 1478.<sup>25</sup> Also Ficino's account of the "Platonic Symposium" presupposes friendly relations between Bandini and Lorenzo, at least for that earlier period.<sup>26</sup> On the basis of the letters mentioned, other scholars have come to the opposite opinion, considering Bandini even as a diplomatic agent of Lorenzo.<sup>27</sup> But our description leaves no doubt that Bandini strongly criticizes the political conditions in Florence, and that means that he is in disagreement with the regime of the Medici.<sup>28</sup> The

19. The manuscript is not listed by Mazzatinti (*La biblioteca dei Re d'Aragona in Napoli, Rocca S. Casciano, 1897*), but it bears Ferrante's arms. About the copyist cf. John W. Bradley, *A Dictionary of Miniaturists*, II, London 1888, p. 26, and Mazzatinti, p. lxxv ff.

20. *Opera*, 657 and 660, cf. above.

21. Cf. Della Torre, p. 768.

22. Cf. V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, Milan 1933, p. 201.

23. Cf. Bradley, p. 26.

24. L. Settembrini in his note to Masuccio's *Novella* (Naples 1874, p. 376).

25. Della Torre, p. 768 f.

26. Op. 1320 f. cf. above.

27. Della Torre, p. 768.

28. F. 7 ff.

only way to explain his ambiguous attitude is that he left his fatherland in order to escape the political pressure of the governing group, but found it convenient to maintain from abroad at least externally friendly relations with Lorenzo, the powerful head of that group. Lorenzo himself probably used him for getting information and certainly did not object to Ficino's correspondence with him.

We have tried to show that Bandini probably lived in Naples in or shortly before 1476, and in close connection with the court of Ferrante. We know from his own letters that on October 12, 1476 he was in Ferrara on his way to Hungary and that on March 25, 1477 he already had arrived in Budapest where we find him also during the following years.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, we know that Beatrice D'Aragona, daughter of King Ferrante, became the bride of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary in September 1476, that she left Naples in the same month, on her way made a stop at Ferrara at the court of her sister, the Duchess Leonora d'Aragona, where splendid feasts were given in her honor (October 16-21), and arrived in December in Hungary where she first met her husband.<sup>30</sup> If we take into account Bandini's connection with the court at Naples and the well-known interest of Beatrice in artists and scholars, we are inclined to conclude that he went to Hungary as one of her attendants and perhaps as a member of her household.

In Hungary he lived for a number of years, certainly until the death of King Matthias, and perhaps until the end of his life. We learn that he was quite influential with the king and was honored by him even with important diplomatic missions.<sup>31</sup> Apparently he was friendly with several among the powerful statesmen at the Hungarian court,<sup>32</sup> and his authority is confirmed by the frequency with which his Italian friends appealed to his help in their various personal affairs.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand we know that he continued also in Hungary to be interested in cultural matters and to favor artists and scholars. Antonio Bonfini, the historiographer of Matthias, reports in the preface to his Latin translation of Filarete's work on architecture that it was Bandini who brought a copy of that work in its Italian original to the king,<sup>34</sup> and

29. Della Torre, p. 768 f.

30. A. Berzeviczy, *Beatrice d'Aragon, Reine de Hongrie*, Paris 1911, I, 98 ff.

31. "... esse te saluum et egregie saluum atque ab invicto Pannoniae rege magnis legationibus honoratum" (Ficino in a letter to Bandini, *Opera* 886 and *Analecta Nova*, p. 284 f.). Cf. Huszti, p. 146 n. 2.

32. Ficino asks him to be remembered to Petrus Varadi, Bishop of Colocza, to Nicholas Bathory, Bishop of Vacs, and to Petrus Garasda (*Opera*, 856 and *Analecta*, 275 f.).

33. Ficino recommends to him the cases of Giorgio Antonio Vespucci (*Opera*, 820), of Jacopo Acciaiuoli (*Opera*, 879), of a priest Vincentius (*Opera*, 880 f.).

34. "... cum ... Bandinus mira ingenii dexteritate suavissimus tuoque numini deditis-

we may presume that at that occasion the king asked Bonfini to undertake the translation, and that Bonfini based it on the text copy brought by Bandini. But above all Bandini maintained or resumed his relations with the Italian humanists, especially with Ficino and his circle. He must be considered as a kind of link between the Platonic Academy in Florence and the Hungarian court, which at that time was so deeply interested in Italian art and in the humanistic movement.<sup>35</sup> Our main source of information is the letters which Ficino addressed to Bandini in that period.<sup>36</sup> Ficino kept him informed about his literary activity,<sup>37</sup> took care of sending to him manuscripts and printed copies of his different works,<sup>38</sup> and even dedicated to him two short treatises.<sup>39</sup> When Ficino declined an invitation to come to Hungary and planned to send instead as his representative his relative Sebastiano Salvini, he recommended him very strongly to Bandini.<sup>40</sup> And when Ugolino Verino composed a collection of Epigrammata in honor of King Matthias, apparently with the hope of being called to Budapest, he included a few verses in which he recommends his work to Bandini, the friend of the Hungarian King,<sup>41</sup> and also asked his friend Ficino to write to Bandini on his behalf.<sup>42</sup>

Ficino's last letter to Bandini, dated January 6, 1489,<sup>43</sup> is the last record we have of Bandini. We do not know when he died or whether he returned to Italy before his death, but it is likely that he spent the remaining part of his life in Hungary.

Bandini was above all a cultured person who liked to read and to live in the company of artists and scholars. His own literary activity was modest. He left a number of letters which are preserved at the R. Archivio di Stato in Florence, three of which have been utilized, although not published, by Della Torre.<sup>44</sup> More of his letters are mentioned by Ammirato and by Ficino, and some of them may ultimately

---

simus Antonii Averulani civis Florentini opus mirabile de architectura nuper ad maiestatem vestram attulerit" (*Analecta Nova*, p. 58; cf. Huszti, p. 146).

35. Cf. Huszti, p. 144 ff.

36. They are reprinted in *Analecta Nova*, p. 274 ff.

37. *Opera*, 856, 871, 879, 895.

38. *Opera*, 870, 872, etc.

39. That is, one of the short tracts included in the second book of the letters (*Opera*, 688) and the *Vita Platonis* included in the fourth book of the letters (*Opera*, 763 cf. 782).

40. *Opera*, 857.

41. "Ad Franciscum Bandinum Florentinum Pannonii regis familiarem cui libellos suos commendat." The poem, which is n. 32 of book 1, was edited from Laur. 39, 40 by Abel in *Irodalomtörténeti Emlékek*, II, 1890, p. 345.

42. *Opera*, 869.

43. *Opera*, 895.

44. Page 768 f.



be found in some private collection. His literary works proper are only two. One of them, a dialogue composed after the death of his friend Simone Gondi, is mentioned by Ammirato without further reference, on the authority of Ammirato by Della Torre and Huszti.<sup>45</sup> But it is not lost, as we could expect from these vague statements, but is preserved in a miscellaneous manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. According to the description given in the old catalogue, it is preceded by a preface addressed to Jacopo Salviati, and followed by an accompanying letter to Francesco Salviati.<sup>46</sup> The dialogue seems to be in Italian, while Ammirato says that it was composed in Latin. But these and other questions must remain open until it is possible to examine the Paris manuscript as well as the letters preserved in Florence.

The other work of Bandini is the description with which we are concerned here, whose existence has remained unknown to all historians who had an occasion to mention the author so far. Let us give a brief account of its content. The author begins with a short preface. He plans to describe and to praise the city of Naples, fears that his description as given in a private letter to a friend is not equal to that task, but wants to make public the praise of his patron, King Ferrante, and concludes with a prayer for the king and with the expression of his own desire to celebrate him in the future with some more dignified composition. The description proper has the form of a letter addressed to a friend whose name is not given. The friend had previously written to Bandini, asking him to return to Florence and supporting this request with a eulogy of that city. Bandini answers that all the advantages of Florence are well known to him, since he spent his youth there. He enjoyed its buildings and other artistic monuments, its festivals and spectacles, and lived in the company and conversation of the artists and literati. But these advantages of Florence are more than balanced by the disadvantages of its political condition, by its instability, party hatred and corruption. Hence he has no intention of returning and in

45. "In Ungheria onde scrive un' Epistola latina a Jacopo Salviati con un dialogo latino pur da lui composto nella morte di Simone Gondi suo carissimo amico, il quale nelle sue braccia in quel Regno si muorì . . ." (Ammirato, p. 212).

46. The cod. Paris, lat. 7869, a miscellaneous manuscript written on paper between the 15th and 17th centuries, but for the most part in the 16th century, contains among other materials: n. 9. Epistola di Francesco Bandini a Jacopo Salviato tradotta di lingua latina in volgare, per che è in luogo di prologo del seguente dialogo. 10. Dialogo di messer Francesco Bandini d'un ragionamento avuto con lui Simone Gondi il dì avanti morissi. 11. Francisci Bandini epistola ad Franciscum Salviatum. n. 2-6 are materials belonging to the 15th century, n. 8 a letter dated 1633 (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, iv, Paris 1744, p. 408).

order to justify this attitude, he wants to describe to his friend the advantages of Naples, his present residence, hoping that the friend himself will thus feel encouraged to follow his own example. Hinting at his own favorable situation, he describes first the site and climate of Naples, the harbor and the chief buildings of the city, the presence of many noblemen and competent persons in all different fields, the wealth of food and all kind of merchandise, the variety of spectacles and the beauty of the surroundings. Then he passes to the praise of the political conditions, emphasizing the prevailing justice and stability and attributing the merit of them to the virtues of King Ferrante. He concludes by expressing his intention to stay in Naples with his father for the rest of his life and encouraging his friend to join them.

About the content of the little composition, in so far as it concerns Bandini's biography, we have already spoken. Let us say a few more words about its literary form and style. Above all, there are many elements in it which reveal its humanistic character and origin. Most obvious is the author's interest in classical antiquity, e.g. when he praises Pozzuoli for its "marvelous Roman remains," or when he compares the Arco Trionfale at the Castel Nuovo in Naples with the Roman arches. The formula with which he concludes his preface, saying that he wants to celebrate the king with some larger literary work, is an imitation of a motive frequently found in the classical Roman poets. Humanistic is the large amount of adulation given to the king, to his family and to the political conditions at Naples, adulation which does not entirely correspond to what we know from other sources. Humanistic also are the careful disposition of the whole description and the strongly rhetorical character of its details as expressed in the author's preference for pompous enumerations. But humanistic on the other hand, is the way in which this somewhat formal and artificial setting is combined with a very personal touch which seems to pervade the whole description. The author freely talks of himself, of his life and situation, and also of his tastes, so characteristic of his time and environment. He is a person of outspoken esthetic inclinations, and this accounts not only for his interest in art and artists, but also for his enthusiasm for food and fruits, for the spectacle of the various festivals and social gatherings and for the splendid views of the harbor and the surroundings of Naples.

This mixture of the literary and the personal element is also expressed in the form which he chooses for his description and which for just the same reason had been used by many humanists for their shorter prose works: the literary epistle. Our text is no doubt a real letter, composed in answer to a letter written him by his friend, and this accounts for the

great number of personal details and allusions which we find in it. On the other hand, the form of this letter is intentionally literary. Besides the style, we have to mention that the name of the addressee has been suppressed and that a preface has been added in which the author explains his purpose and says explicitly that the letter is destined for publication. This is confirmed by the condition of the manuscript which is a de luxe copy written for the library of the king, and we know that the existence of such a copy means that the work has been published by the author, i.e. published in the sense which prevailed in the period before the invention of printing and still persisted for quite a while after this important technical innovation. This literary character is confirmed by the subject matter which belongs to a type occurring quite frequently in humanistic literature and which does not necessarily appear in the form of a letter: the description of a city. I may mention only two other examples: the *De illustratione urbis Florentiae* by Ugolino Verino, a poem, and the *Bononia Illustrata* by Benedetto Morandi, a kind of speech.

We have characterized our description as belonging to humanistic literature, but many people will find this statement to be in contradiction to the fact that the letter is written in Italian. In spite of Poliziano and other famous examples, the prejudice still persists that the humanists were inimical to Italian literature and that the Italian works of the period were due to a kind of popular undercurrent and entirely foreign to the dominating humanistic movement. As a matter of fact, the distinction between a popular Italian and a humanistic Latin literature is valid only to a certain extent and only for a very limited period of the early Renaissance in Italy. At least, from the middle of the fifteenth century on, the humanists themselves began to write part of their works in Italian or to translate some of their own Latin works into Italian. Everywhere we can notice a reciprocal influence between the Latin and Italian literature of the period. The famous works of the Italian literature were translated into Latin or imitated in Latin, for the first time by Petrarch himself with his Latin version of Boccaccio's *Griselda*. On the other hand, Italian poetry and prose were continually influenced by the Latin and Neolatin literature in motives, stylistic elements and even in its vocabulary and syntax. Italian and Neolatin were thus in reality but two branches of one literature, and it is no wonder that the literary genera of the period cross, so to speak, the language line between Italian and Latin. Therefore, we do not hesitate to define our little composition, in spite of its Italian language, as a descriptive letter in the humanistic sense, and I think it derives its particular charm from this particular combination: a refined literary motive has been expressed

in the loose, genuine and almost idiomatic style of a *testo di lingua*.

The manuscript which has the number 267, comes from the Weigle collection, was purchased from Olschki in 1907, and has been described by Olschki and by De Ricci.<sup>47</sup> It is written on vellum in a beautiful hand of the second half of the fifteenth century, probably about 1476. It holds 25 leaves (1. 1-24), the first and last of which are empty except for a few notes. On the inside of the cover is found an old call number: v 4 D. On f. 1 the whole text is in blue, the title in gold capitals, the initial S in a golden square with ribbons and flowers. The left margin is illuminated with ribbons and flowers. On the lower margin is given an old call number (s. xvii): Lit. A Plu. 4 n. 6. On f. 2 verso the title *Epistola* is given in blue capitals. On f. 3 the whole text is given in capitals, and in gold and blue respectively. The initial M is golden in a big square. All four margins are richly illuminated with ribbons, flowers, angels and various animals. On the lower margin is painted the royal arms of Aragon-Naples. Smaller golden initials are found on f. 10 and 11. On f. 23 at the end of the text we find the subscription of the copyist: *Joachinus degigantibus scripsit*. On f. 24 we find the following notes: (s. xvi) *vulgari oratori o historici no. xviii*, and below: (s. xv or xvi) *Sgto Bandino 61 no alltro aff. 96 pta 4a*. Our text is based on that of the manuscript. I have introduced punctuation, accents and separation of words according to modern usage, but respected otherwise the spelling of the manuscript, except for *et* which is frequently abbreviated in the manuscript. I have made very few and slight corrections of the text, indicating them in notes, where they seemed to be necessary, but I have resisted the temptation to normalize the names or to subject the free periods of the author to the strict and logical rules of modern syntax.<sup>48</sup>

Francisci Bandini de Baroncellis in laudem Neapolitane civitatis et Ferdinandi<sup>49</sup> regis brevis epistola ad amicum.  
Prohemium.

Sogliono le cose splendide et eccellenti non solamente li acuti ingegni et eleganti lingue, ma i rozzi et inculte di loro parlando sforzare amplamente di celebrarle; per la qual cosa scadendomi avere<sup>50</sup> di-

47. Leo S. Olschki, "Quelques manuscrits fort précieux," *La Bibliofilia*, x, 1909, p. 78 f.  
S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York 1937, p. 1416.

48. I should like to thank Professors Dino Bigongiari and Giuseppe Prezzolini for their kind help in the revision and emendation of the text.

49. F. ms.

50. *Avere* is repeated twice in the ms.

- f. 1<sup>v</sup>* stinto ragionamento / delle egregie parti della nobile et chiara città di Napoli et sua circumstantie, m'è suto forza in quelle, quanto lo ingegno et lingua han possuto, con verità esprimere, extendermi et dichiararle. Ma ben mi pesa che, conosciuto io non havere interamente possuto a pieno quelle qual si richiede extollere, et per questo solamente ad amico secreto descrivendo commessole, che da lui in luce
- f. 2* non debitamente culte producte / sieno. Dall'altro canto m'è pur iocundissimo che quelle cose, le quali dallo inclyto Signore mio Ferdinando Re magnanimo et invicto restaurate sono et facte ad tanta perfectione, tale quale si sia, gli orecchi tocchino di molte genti, affine che la dignità dello animo excelso et immortali opere di sì divo principe per questo inditio, così chome per molti altri, in parte sien conosciute. A che io pregho lo eterno Giove che'l / reale sceptro con tanto arbitrio gli ha dato sopra i mortali, che immortale il preservi in sì santo governo et giustissimo reggimento, e'l benigno Apolline, che ne spiri a possere con altro che con breve epistola et casuale discorrere sì largo campo et fare noto a' posterì i suoi processi tanto divini et maravigliosi./

#### Epistola

- f. 3* Molto sollecita- et caldamente mi stimoli, amico caro, per le tuo lettere, debba ripatriarmi et tornare a Fiorenze, repetendomi la soavità / della patria, il dolce amore de' parenti, la excellentia de la città e' piaceri d'essa et le commodità infinite di quella, et quasi meco adoperi come se a me fussino incognite tutte sue simili conditioni, che pure debbi sapere che, mentre io in quella da giovinetto fui intento ad ogni liberale arte forse più che alchun altro buon tempo
- f. 4* fa, presi di sue dolcezze et commodità ampla-/mente con rilassato animo, non dimettendo alcuna maniera di solazzi che in essa o sue circumstantie prendere si potessino. Io dalla vista delle cose nobili della città et delli edificiî magnifici pigliavo sommo piacere, et spessissimo li andavo vedendo et contemplando acutissimamente l'arte et le conditioni tutte di quelli. Niuno luogho celebrato da moltitudine / di cittadini o donne tralasciavo ch'io non visitassi,<sup>51</sup> per avere in quelli giocondità dello spectaculo di molte ornate presentie. Niuno artigiano di sottile ingegno et di acuto mestiero quasi v'era con chui io non havessi cerco d'avere conoscenza, spesseggiando di rivedere tutto giorno loro opere et ragionando sovente con quelli di mestieri loro. Niuno huomo erudito, eloquente<sup>52</sup> / o di eleganti costumi v'era, ch'io con ogni sollecitudine non cercassi per ogni via recharmegli amici et non

51. *Vicitassi* ms.

52. Corrected from *eloquenti* in the ms.

- f. 5<sup>o</sup> fussi quasi continuo con essi a cercare d'imprendere da quelli qualche egregia parte. Io gli honoravo nel conversare, gli exaltavo ragionando, gli carezzavo convitando, gli accommodavo presentando, celebravo scrivendo, et così non si pretermetteva per me nullo officio che a ciò [per me / possibile]<sup>53</sup> si convenisse. O quante volte mi ricorda elli con questi avere circondata la vagha terra, ragionando de' philosophici studii, dell'arti della eloquentia, delle storie famosissime antiche, delle occorrenze moderne, et non sendo bastato il giorno, condottici in casa con simili ragionamenti, et di poi quivi quasi il resto della nocte consumta con le armonie liriche, ver-/seggiando con soavità mirabile et smisurata, et tratti dal piacere di quelle, d'accordo itone l'altro di subito alle ville nostre datorno a starne per più giorni in simile piacevole opera, nè prima tornati che alcuna instante necessità alla terra ci rivo casse. Quivi poi i templi magnifici, i monasteri sanctissimi visitando, niuna maniera d'onesto solazzo o piacere ingenuo si tralasciava. Sì che non cale che / tu più mi descriva simili condizioni per revocarmi più facilmente, però che elleno tutte mi sono notissime. Ma ancho m'è noto uno grande contrapeso di simili cose di che nulla mi fa i mentione. Ma io che tutto con aperta experientia in me medesimo quasi ho visto, contempero, anzi più tosto contamino con tale assentio ogni simile dolcezza. Però che se bene si pensa alle difficoltà del vivere / di cotale luogho, alle angherie smisurate, a' trabocchi delle facultadi, alle extorsioni continue l'uno a l'altro, a' favori corruptibili, alla instabilità delli stati, alle expulsioni, a' livori, alle crudeltà, agl'odii, alle rapine, al dubbio continuo et incertitudine di ciascuno bene, certo e' si stimerà uno tale paradiso habitato da molti perversi spiriti più tosto horrendo che delectabile in alcuno modo, però che nulla può essere giocundo all' animo afflicto, nulla dolce a huomo affannato da simili febri. Nè è nullo o pochi che simile tormenti possino subterfuggire, però che chi non batte, è battuto, et chi percuote, sempre sta affaticato in quello con horribili furie, chi è offeso, è in miserabile supplicio. Per questo, amico mio iocundissimo ben che in questa exhortatione inimico pestife-/ro et execrando, mi pare poterti con giusta cagione disdirti la mia tornata et con chiara ragione storti da cotale desiderio. Ma perchè più apertamente intenda quanto tu sia crudele a cotesto exortandomi, et per darti di mio essere inaudita dolcezza, ti voglio enarrare un pocho le amene et dolci conditioni del luogo ov'io sono. Il perchè tu medesimo giudicherai essere, scri-/vendomi come scrivi, simile allo astuto serpente et invidioso, che lusingando la semplice madonna Eva, la ingannò in forma che, seguitata l'ombra di maggior bene, fu privata delle delitie di paradiso, dove se paziente suta vi fusse, eternalmente quelle gaudendo aia
- f. 6
- f. 6<sup>o</sup>
- f. 7
- f. 7<sup>o</sup>
- f. 8
- f. 8<sup>o</sup>

53. The brackets are also in the ms.



- f. 9* possedute. Et forse spero che, così come già più volte s'è visto che chi altri vuole convincere, lui rimane il / convicto, che tu ciò sentendo dal cercare di rivocare me ti rimanghi et ingiegniti di lasciare le crudeli terre et gli avari liti et venire agli Elisii campi, il che se farai, arai saggiamente a te medesimo consigliato et conoscerai havere fallito ben grave a non haver buon tempo fa preso simile partito. Attendi adunque alle preciose conditioni della splendida città di Napoli et delle fertili et amene / circumstantie di quella dov'io sono al presente. Il luogo et la conditione mia in questa felice patria non cale dirti. Ma bene ne sto soddisfatto et contento, chè più in essa nè in qualunque altra parte richiederei. Ma diciamo delle sue mirabili conditioni, le quali non in minima parte so potere explicare, et quelle minime scriverrotti so ch'a pena ti parranno credibili; pensa adunque vedendo tu et gustando / quello a che la penna non puote aspirare.
- f. 9<sup>o</sup>*
- f. 10*

Prima il sito, di tutte parti del mondo, se bene si considera, è il più accomodato ad ogni et qualunque oportunità che alchuno altro; questo è commodo al levante, all'Africa et al ponente, quasi posto in mezzo di simili luoghi, tale che ogni industria di simili parti o mercantia à qui expedito concorso. L'ayre e'l clima è saluberrimo quanto alcuno / altro, l'acque chiarissime, dolci, sanissime et in habundantia, commode selve d'atorno ad ogni oportunità promptissime, così marittime come terrestri. Il solo fertilissimo, purgato d'ogni cosa pestifera o venenosa, fresco et quasi del continuo asciutto, senza niuna bruttura. La marina, circundata da una banda di fertili lyti et montagne, dall'altra parte da insule gratiose et altri più grati luoghi, fa circa / miglia XXX di golfo per ogni verso che fortezza a la terra et giocunda vista ne danno.

- f. 11*
- La città è in sul lito marino di cerchio di miglia tre in forma di luna di quarterone posta, la metà piana alla marina da basso, il resto in soave spiaggia, in modo che più forte et più bella assai se ne rende; le mura della terra sono antiquissime et integre che pure quelle reverentia grande le attribuiscono. Da uno canto di / essa sulla marina è il Castello Nuovo restaurato dal gloriosissimo Re Alfonso di edificio et munito<sup>54</sup> più che alcuno altro mai vistosi, inexpugnabile, con uno arco triumphale su la porta simile a quelli egregii Romani, con habitationi dentro magnifiche et ornatissime ad habitare di gran principe accomodate dove la Maestà del Re sta per istanza. Apreso il Castello duo giar-/dini, uno alto, uno da basso, di tanta amenità et bellezza che più dire non si potrebbe, con uno parco bellissimo dirimpetto prossimo a quello, di poi il molo grande et piccolo sulla marina, ne'quali duo porti sempre sono galee armate, navi et legni in quantità di più sorte, dove et la vista dello edificio mirabile et lo spettacolo
- f. 11<sup>o</sup>*
- f. 12*

54. *Munita*, ms.



- f. 12<sup>v</sup>* de' legni e'l prospecto circumstante d'anno mirabile soavitade. Quivi / la frequentia di chi viene et di chi parte con suoi legni et mercantie con trombetti et suoni diversi et bombarde sempre dà spectaculo a chi v' arriva, dove al continuo quantità di Signori et gentilhuomini a cavallo si veggono andare. Veggiendo dall'altro canto della terra, dalla porta che va a Capova è il Castello di Capuana fra terra munitissimo et bello
- f. 13* drento per tutto, dove habita il pri-/mogenito del Re colla sua famiglia. Gli edificii del resto della terra sono grandi et magnifici; molte case vi sono splendide, infiniti templi bellissimi et con solemnità coltivati; la città per tutto è pavimentata di selici che per ogni tempo sta pulitissima, piena di giardini amenissimi et di fontane vive per tutto. La quantità de' Signori et gentilhuomini è grandissima, ben vestiti,
- f. 13<sup>v</sup>* sempre / a cavallo in varii solazzi. Ciascuno de' Signori secondo suo potere tiene ornata famiglia et casa habondante, et simile i gentilhuomini. Gli artigiani sono infiniti et perfecti in ogni mestiero et meglio stanti che in terra ch'io sappi. Qui d'ogni sorte cose, al victo del huomo o al vestito necessaria o delitiosa, ci è in quantità. Se vuoi delle liberali arti exemplo, egli è qui in tutta perfectione, però / che se o theologi o philosophi o poeti o huomini eloquentissimi et eruditi cerchi, qui ne è assaissimi et optimi; se medici o iuristi, qui ne è in gran copia et perfecti più che in niun' altra terra d'Italia. Se musici, scultori, pictori, architecti, ingegneri et di simili mestieri liberali, qui ne è in tutto colmo, et del continuo la Maestà del Serenissimo<sup>55</sup> Re con ogni sollecitudine et premio attende a conducene con continue /
- f. 14<sup>v</sup>* schuole di tutte simili arti perfette. Qui l'arme è più singularmente adoperata, cominciandosi della Maestà del Serenissimo<sup>56</sup> Re et da' figli perfino al minimo gentilhuomo o cortigiano così del Re come di tutti altri Signori, che in luogo del mondo. Qui i migliori et più possenti cavalli, qui più spessi spectaculi di ornate et magnanime giostre et di infinite altre dilectevoli feste, qui la terra è libera più che alchun' /
- f. 15* altra ch'io sappi di vivere, vestire, andare, stare a suo modo; le porte non mai si chiuggono, niuno datio o minimo si ricoglie di grascia che entri, niuna gabella paghano i cittadini et Signori di cose voglion<sup>56</sup> per uso loro. La divitia delle cose è grande, et tutto in perfectione. Qui vini d'ogni sorte, solemmissimi formenti et biade perfectæ, olii nobili,
- f. 15<sup>v</sup>* strami in quantità, carni di tutte sorti, di mirabi-/li sapori et d'ogni tempo ciò che sai domandare, pescie solemne et d'ogni maniera tutto d'acque marine et vivo al continuo, frutte di tutte sorti del mondo che paiono electe del paradiso terrestre, che se io volessi insistere al descriverti di ciò particolarmente, tutto uno mese non bastarebbe. Qui sempre pare prima vera. La vernata lo essere la città volta et proxima
- f. 16* al mezo giorno non / sente quasi mai freddo. La estate i limbatti di

55. S., ms.

56. *Di cose voglion* is written over an erasure in the ms.

- mare, venti soavissimi, fanno un fresco di paradiso. La primavera et lo autunno le aure pregne delli odori de' fiori et de' frutti odorificano sì il paese che egli è somma giocondità a sentire, maxime per la quantità infinita delli aranci, cetri, limoni et simili frutti di sommo odore; le erbe sono saporite, belle et di somma virtù et tutto altro nobile che
- f. 16°* domandare si potes-/se. Gli spassi di poi sono infiniti, quando in mare con armate barche et con mille suoni a fare varii giuochi et pescare o nudi o vestiti in mille maniere; quando alla vista de' circumstanti giardini et possessioni; quando delle montagnette virenti et fresche fra le quali il bello Falerno et magno Vesuvio vi sono ombrefere et amenissime; le praterie dintorno quasi floride del continuo sono
- f. 17* infinite, esposte ad / ogni maniera di solazzi, et così laghi et apriche piaggie, et monti et petrosi et verdi, habitati et culti, pieni di sommo dilecto; quando alle terre piacevoli datorno chome è Nola, Sorrente, Massa et altri luoghi cultissimi et dotati di tutti i beni, fra' quali Pezuolo et per la excellentia de' molti bagni ha et per la vista delle mirabili antiquità Romane vi si vegghono dà grandissimo dilecto a
- f. 17°* ciaschuno; quivi Baia / et Miseno et la anticha Cuma, Lucrino e'<sup>57</sup> templi delle Sibille, cose maravigliose, vedere si possono; quando alle caccie de' falconi che più sollecitamente et più degne ci si fanno che in luogo del mondo; quando a quella delli sparvieri che ci si frequentano con sommo solazzo; quando a quelle de' caprii, cervi et di cinghiali che al continuo si exercitano che danno infinito piacere maxime
- f. 18* quelle / delli storni<sup>58</sup> fra l'altre dove la natura certo pose ogni arte et studio suo a fare uno luogo attissimo a simil cosa; quando nella città colle magnanime giostre et feste come davanti ho detto; quando col visitare de' templi o altri frequentati luoghi, dove la multitudine delli huomini ben fatti et ben vestiti et delle belle et ornate donne olite di mille odori soavissimi danno giocundissima vista, la conver-
- f. 18°* satione degli huomini festevoli et senza invidia o alcuna maligna astutia, la pratica delle pudiche et liete donne è<sup>59</sup> di smisurata dolcezza. Da ogni banda che tu ti volgi, tu vedi cose liete et gentili. Qui non si sentono gl'urtamenti de' cittadini, le repulse, le seditioni, le strida delli oppressi, qui non si vede mutatione di fortuna, se non per expresso vizio da buona a trista et per singulare virtù da / piccola a più
- f. 19* maggiore. Qui la giustitia più diritta et più incorrotta che in luogo del mondo si serva. Qui è adito libero a' defensori et defenseione agli oppressi, qui è vendetta indeprecabile a' delinquenti, qui è amore et premio singulare ad ogni virtù, chè dalla norma dello inclito principe ne nasce simile ordine in tutti gli altri; la humanità, la magnificentia,
- f. 19°* la continentia più che in luogo mai visto qui si dis-/cermono. Ma

57. *Et ms.*58. *Stroni ms.*, correction made by Prezzolini; *aironi* is proposed by Bigongiari.59. *Et, ms.*

- come potrebbe elli essere altrimenti, poi che il capo di tutto è di tutta perfectione. Or sarà<sup>60</sup> mai il rivo turbo, uscendo per canale netto di chiara fontana, la nave mal condotta, quando arà al timone perito nocchiere, lo exercito arà altro che felice victoria, quando arà prudentissimo il capitano, le città, le provintie finalmente e' regni aran mai che tranquillo stato et somma prosperitate, / quando da principi sapientissimi saranno rette? Ma dimmi, quale è oggi al mondo patria, quale provintia, quale regno, qua' popoli che più divina guida tenghano che questi? Et lo effecto felicissimo in tutte cose lo manifesta, però che se noi guardiamo alla excellentia et parti mirabili del nostro Re Serenissimo Ferdinando, principe veramente inclyto, magnanimo, pacifico et invicto, noi giudicheremo non potersi in huomo / alcuno essere mostra perfectione maggiore dalla natura; chè se noi<sup>61</sup> quello pogniamo mente nella presentia, ella è di somma reverentia et gravitate, se noi ne' gesti, tutti moderati, se noi ne' costumi, tutti composti et splendidi, se noi nelle parole, tutte eleganti et sententiose, se noi nell'ingegno, acutissimo a meraviglia, se noi nello intellecto, sapientissimo et di sommo vedere in tutte le cose; il corpo, robustissimo; se vuoi / in arme a cavallo, e' pare uno Cesare o Alessandro, nello adoperare la lancia franchissimo cavaliere, nel ministrare lo exercito prudentissimo imperatore, festevole in tutti e tempi, optimo musico et erudito in ogni buona arte, placido, affabile et carezzevole et mitissimo, sempre di somma pietà et religione verso idio, di somma carità ne' parenti, di sommo amore ne' figliuoli, di grande benivolentia in tutti / altri, non mai turbantesi di cosa adversa o d'alchuna cosa molesta, non mai elevantesi per cosa prospera, ma sempre una medesima maniera servante, in tutte le cose accorto, continuamente alla quiete de' popoli, al culto della iustitia, alla pace universale intentissimo, come continuamente s'è visto. Ornato poi di tanta famiglia di sì meravigliosi figliuoli et figliuole che ciascuno di ogni / sua virtù lo ymita grandemente et è gli simillimo. Ora chi in tanto paradiso, in simile vista di cose sì degne, in tale spectaculo et pratica di signore sì divo et perfectissimo da ogni banda non si reputeria felicissimo? Or non sarei io ingratisimo, di tanto dono factomi<sup>62</sup> la fortuna d'aplicarmi in sì degno luogho, quando io me ne dipartissi? Certo questa stanza mi sarà, sendoci simili beni, in mia vita pa-/tria, questo luogho a me così come al padre mio prudentissimo sarà sepultura, se forza fatta non mi è d'altrove asportarmi; et se tu saviamente et a mio consiglio farai, amico dilecto et caro, tu transmuterai cotesti liti tempestosi, ben che giocondi agli occhi, in questi spetiosissimi et tranquilli, et io da mo'<sup>63</sup> et
- f. 20
- f. 20<sup>v</sup>
- f. 21
- f. 21<sup>v</sup>
- f. 22
- f. 22<sup>v</sup>

60. *Sara e*, ms.

61. Apparently *in* should be added after *noi*.

62. *Da* should be added after *factomi* according to Bigongiari.

63. *Damo*, ms.

- f. 23 per debito della singulare nostra amicitia et per più facilmente condurti a simili beni, ti offero più che / equale partimento di tutti mia commodi in queste parti, promettendoti che, se non ti contenti infinitamente d'avere exequito tali mia conforti, d'esserti tenuto d'ogni ristoro. Cessa adunque di più molestarmi con tue lettere incognito<sup>64</sup> di questi beni, et apparecchiati con più prestezza puoi, di qua venirne a fruire anche tu questa gioconda felicitade.

P. O. KRISTELLER

*Columbia University*

64. I.e. *inesperto*.

## REVIEWS

---

*Literary Scholarship, Its Aims and Methods.* By NORMAN FOERSTER, JOHN C. MCGALLIARD, RENÉ WELLEK, AUSTIN WARREN, WILBUR L. SCHRAMM. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. 269.

*This important book of Professor Foerster and his colleagues is concerned primarily with the next generation of American literary scholars. It has seemed interesting, useful, and a deserved compliment to the authors to invite five experienced graduate students to give their serious, independent and candid opinions of a work so vital to them. Of the present group, two (Miss Waterman, Mr. Steel) have just received their Ph.D.'s in French at Columbia University, and the others (Messrs. Carre, Matthews, and Rogers) are now candidates for that degree.*

*The Editors*

### "THE STUDY OF LETTERS," BY NORMAN FOERSTER

FOR THE PAST NINETY YEARS literary scholarship, says Professor Foerster in the introductory chapter of this symposium, has reflected the scientific spirit of our age, aiming at exactitude, exhaustiveness and impartiality at the risk of becoming tedious and trivial. In line with the natural and social sciences, it has rooted itself in the concept of change or evolution, thus tending to emphasize historical research, and the development of linguistic philology to the exclusion of literary criticism and imaginative writing.

Thus somewhere in the development of our current system of scholarly procedures, although admirable monuments of scientifically inspired scholarship have been produced, we seem to have lost sight of the original ends of the study of Letters, which should lie within the province of the humanities rather than in the field of the sciences. The scholar, properly recognizing the value of the scientific method, has apparently confused the means with the ends, wrongly interpreting research to mean scholarship, and so divorcing the accumulation of data from synthesis and interpretation.

On the whole, says Professor Foerster, the ends of literary scholarship to date may be summarized as follows: 1. "to inculcate scientific habits of accuracy and thoroughness and the sense of time or historical sense; 2. to assure a general acquaintance with a language and a literature viewed in their historical development and environment; 3. to develop a capacity of research in a limited field of language or literary history."

Such aims are "simple, definite and attainable" and have produced distinguished results "within narrow limits." The problem is now to widen our horizons, to make this tool of learning work for us. Professor Foerster now states the following new and more complex purpose: 1. "to encourage a common intellectual life among students of letters, in which the discipline of letters will be integrated with the other humanistic disciplines; 2. to restore the full meaning of literary scholarship to include esthetic sensitiveness, the ability to

write firmly, a concern for general ideas, and an insight into the permanent human values embodied in literature; 3. to offer a vigorous discipline in the specialized types of literary activity; 4. to restore a vital relationship between scholarship and letters by preparing students for careers as teachers . . . as critics or as writers."

These ideals, much more difficult of attainment, acknowledge the fact that literature, unlike science, lies within the realm of values, that the most appropriate means of learned inquiry is critical argument fortified by esthetic perceptiveness and historical awareness. The graduate schools will have to recognize and act upon this fact, and Professor Foerster maintains that this can be done by truly liberalizing the so-called liberal education from college days through the Ph.D. training. Whatever the student's specialty, criticism, in particular, is most important and has recently been sadly neglected. The student should, in this connection, primarily learn to read, to get all the meaning from the text at hand. He should moreover, attain a reasonable command of literary theory, and these two skills combined with natural sense should enable him to see true values in his carefully accumulated data. In the last analysis, he should specialize in one of the four branches of the study of Letters, producing finally, a linguistic or historical monograph, a theoretical or practical critical study or a work of imaginative literature of high quality.

This, in part, is the revised course of study. The difficulty would be, of course, to realize the ideal. Professor Foerster seems to feel that it can be done simply by raising the standards of the graduate schools. A group of good students would be attracted who hitherto have not been interested in advanced degrees. The net result, he hopes, would be to restore sound literary scholarship to the realm of the humanities where it should contribute not only to the accumulation of sheer knowledge but to the understanding and realization of human values.

Each of these aspects of the question is taken up in turn in the chapters which follow. That the literary scholar as a student of the humanities has not only the right, but is obliged, to draw connotative conclusions from his materials is a revolutionary and an attractive principle. Much that is human still remains outside the limits of scientific analysis and organization. All that is human and that can be given articulate expression has always been the province of literature, so that the student of Letters is under obligation, as a scholar, at least to become aware of the vastness of his field, and of the relationship of his specific knowledge to human values. If he is to contribute to the fields of linguistics, literary history or criticism, he must first, with as sterling honesty as he can muster, turn science to his ends, and, as impartially as is humanly possible, accumulate, select and organize his data. But surely his job is not then complete. He must draw worthy conclusions from those data, conclusions which not only follow logically from his material but which have some objective value and some specific relationship to the world in which he lives.

So far so good. The weakness of Professor Foerster's proposals lies, not in

his breadth of vision, but in his failure to do more than summarize the aims of what should constitute a reformed curriculum. If the end of humanized literary scholarship be ultimately to produce teachers, critics and writers, earnest scholars of the old school may justifiably protest that scholarship has consistently proposed to do exactly that. They may even be both offended and puzzled by the implication that they have failed in their aims—unless Professor Foerster can suggest a *specific* program of study which will radically change the present requirements.

The authors of this book set themselves the difficult task of outlining such a program. The lack of cohesion of their proposals, interesting and valuable though they are, may be due in part to the fact that Professor Foerster does not provide a really concrete framework either for them or for their readers. There remains much to be said about the practice as well as the theory of literary scholarship.

MINA WATERMAN

"LANGUAGE," BY JOHN C. MCGALLIARD

Strictly speaking, linguistic science does not fit into the scheme of *Literary Scholarship*. The root-stock of language study is set in the scientific method, a method which these members of the faculty of the University of Iowa signal as a danger to the humanities. Professor Foerster evidently recognizes the anomaly present, and points out that linguistics may be regarded as an end in itself, as well as a tool subject. Both aspects are treated by Professor McGalliard in his survey. He glances first at the books on applied linguistics that have been so numerous in our day. He then details the divisions of linguistic science, indicates recent discoveries in Indo-European studies, and points to the achievements of linguistic geography. His brief presentation of the principles of the diverse schools of linguistic change is genuinely impartial. A concluding section shows an appreciation of the value of linguistics as a key to the early masterpieces of literature. The author is aware of the tendency among many of his fellow linguists to make of the literary work "a cadaver for scientific dissection" (page 85). Professor McGalliard possesses an unusual control of the material and the texts in his field. The chapter constitutes a valuable insight into the present state of linguistic scholarship.

One criticism may be made of the technique of this *état présent*. A more careful weighting of the items presented in terms of their relative values would be desirable. Much that is elementary fact and example could have been omitted without loss to the type of reader to whom this chapter is directed. The description of phonology seems excessively detailed. A discussion and definition of the phoneme is coupled with a long clarification of "changing phonemes." Since there seems to be at issue only a more explicit terminology for the older terms of "sounds" and "changing sound laws," one wishes that this space were devoted to an amplification of other phases of linguistics, touched upon but lightly. Fuller treatment might have been accorded the con-



tributions of linguistics to our knowledge of the historical, social, and psychological evolution of a people.

The present book was conceived as the expression of a healthy and provocative dissatisfaction with the academic environment of our day. It has a point of view. It was not intended primarily as a vehicle for descriptive and impartial cataloguing. But Professor McGalliard rests his case, the enumeration completed. He has evidently looked upon linguistics and found it good. There is a regrettable absence of constructive suggestions; no new directions are indicated. The one problem of which the author seems aware is the achievement of a pedagogically feasible terminology.

There are linguists who will disagree with this chart of a harmonious linguistic universe. The methods of scholarly production in the field are not beyond reproach. The technique of the mechanists is open to valid criticism, the definition offered by Professor McGalliard to the contrary: "The mechanist works exclusively within the tangible data of language phenomena, which he describes, classifies, and arranges in a system" (page 84). In the field of Romance linguistics, for example, there are mechanists in good standing, who, while asking for their data the recognition accorded scientific discoveries, draw their methodology, not from the inductive scientist, but from the deductive philosopher. The nature of the language spoken in the Vulgar Latin period is a vital question for the Romance philologist. Philologists like Grandgent have quite arbitrarily set up their own dates for the cessation of spoken Latin and the emergence of Romance. The sudden appearance of French in the Oaths of Strasbourg can be understood only by presupposing a proto-Romance, they maintain, and they set its date in the sixth or seventh centuries. Unfortunately such a language has left us no documents, although Bourciez maintains that manuscripts in the language were possibly written and destroyed. There has come down to us a mass of documents in Vulgar Latin, but many disregard these as the formulations of an artificial language, bristling with the errors of ignorant scribes. These documents have been shown by a school of documentary scholars to be not haphazard mazes of mistakes, but systematically incorrect and reducible to rules. They are the transcriptions of a living language. Working thus from the documents by an inductive method, we can learn the manner in which Latin developed gradually from Classical to Romance. Thanks to such a method, the science of linguistics would possess in the field of which I now speak a scientific technique, a technique which many of its practitioners still lack.

JEFFREY J. CARRE

#### "LITERARY HISTORY," BY RENÉ WELLEK

In his chapter on literary history Professor René Wellek deplores the fondness of many scholars for straying from the path of pure literary research into the neighboring pastures of biography, philosophy, sociology, etc. Professor Wellek is a literary isolationist; that is, he holds that literature, if it is deter-

mined at all, is determined mainly by literary tradition, and owes relatively little to extraneous influences. He thus places himself in a highly exposed position, and it is not to be wondered at that his defense of it is more valiant than effective. Mr. Wellek objects, for example, to Professor Greenlaw's statement that nothing related to the history of civilization is beyond the province of literary history, failing to recognize that one of his own admissions (literature "is . . . in constant and vital relationship" with most of the activities which go to make up the history of humanity) amply justifies Professor Greenlaw's contention.

In his zeal to "isolate" literature Professor Wellek musters all the resources of erudition and dialectic, but frequently the result achieved is hardly commensurate with the effort expended. Such "conclusions" as: "the mechanical determinism of a conception of art as a transcript of life should be definitely discarded," and "the development of literature is not the mirror of the history of philosophy," laboriously proved, are hardly striking. And what is more, they do not support Professor Wellek's claim. The fact that a literary work never provides a complete and photographic reproduction of reality surely does not absolve the literary historian from the duty of studying its biographical, sociological and philosophical background with a view to determining to *what extent* it has been conditioned thereby. This reflection appears to have caused Mr. Wellek an occasional qualm. At any rate, after having suggested that all such "external approaches" to literature are *improper*, he insists that he has considered none of them *invalid*, thus leaving the reader with a pretty problem in semantics on his hands.

The only approach to literature of which Professor Wellek approves is the esthetic one. Consequently, the business of the literary historian is to strive for a "better understanding of the coherence and integrity" of a work of art. This is likewise, of course, the business of the literary critic, and Professor Wellek readily concedes the virtual identity of the two. When a scholar attempts to assess the artistic merits of one literary work, he is a critic; when he searches for an esthetic trend in a series of literary works, he is a historian.

The most serious charge to which Professor Wellek has exposed himself is that, in his preoccupation with the esthetic function of literature, he has underestimated the importance of content. True, the Russian formalists whom he praises have introduced the concept of *structure*, "which includes both content and form as far as they are organized for esthetic purposes." But the qualifying clause clearly indicates the interest in content to be secondary. The esthete will concern himself with a writer's ideas only because form, the method of expression, can hardly be studied without some knowledge of the thing being expressed. This conception of literature is surely a dangerously narrow one. It guarantees that if a writer has had the misfortune to give artistic expression to his ideas, his message will be virtually ignored by the literary scholar. It is not hard to imagine the fury with which Shaw, who consigned art to the dogs and the dilettantes, would welcome the news that his work was to be graded

by a professor of esthetics. Ibsen too, would be distressed at the melancholy sight of a critic systematically setting his philosophy aside and concentrating on the analysis of his dramatic technique. And Shakespeare and Shelley might be disconcerted at finding themselves regarded as artists rather than thinkers, instead of as artists *and* thinkers. The only writers who would not resent the exclusively esthetic approach would be the Sardous and the Píneros, who would suffer but slightly were the intellectual content of their work neglected.

Whether he be studying the works of a single author, or a genre, or a movement, Professor Wellek's historian-esthete must devise a standard of values. Here Professor Wellek is as much at variance with the impressionists who refrain from judging as with the exponents of Platonic or classical absolutes. Claiming that a work of art should be "accessible to objective study regardless of the differences in the individual experiences," he looks forward to the day when it will be reduced to a system of signs. It is regrettable that he has not clarified this statement by an illustration. How could *Macbeth*, for example, be thus reduced? Also on the vague side is Professor Wellek's theory that the values according to which individual works are to be judged must be derived from the works themselves, viewed as a historical unit. Nor is the example furnished of much assistance. "A history of Romanticism," he says, "must be written with a clear conception of the final form of Romanticism in mind." Either Professor Wellek is using words for which there are no referents, there being no such thing as a final form of Romanticism, or, if he implies that the historian must devise his own definition, he is throwing us back into the slough of subjectivism from which he promised to rescue us.

ERIC M. STEEL

#### "LITERARY CRITICISM," BY AUSTIN WARREN

After a brief discussion of the history, theory, and practice of literary criticism, and of the scope of these three fields, Professor Warren turns in his second section to the subject-matter of criticism, literature itself. The relationship between literature and the other branches of learning is considered in some detail. Professor Warren places it midway between the fine arts and philosophy: "the form of literature relates it to the other arts; its matter, the interpretation of life, relates it to philosophy" (page 140). By extension, literature may be said to stand midway between art and life, and the "two polar methods of criticism" (page 141), esthetic and ideological, are derived from this double reference. Esthetic criticism deals with technical considerations of diction, structure, meter, form, and the effects produced by these; ideological criticism deals with the moral, political or metaphysical implications of the work. The fundamental difference between these two types of criticism lies in their differing views as to the rôle of literature: the Aristotelian view, which regards literature as the source of an esthetic experience that is an end in itself, and the Platonic view of literature as propaganda for a way of life. A reconciliation between the esthetic and ideological methods may be effected

by regarding them as "complementary emphases." "Properly conducted, the two will interpenetrate" (page 151).

The third section deals with that kind of criticism which pushes beyond description and elucidation towards the formation of an ultimate value judgment of the work of art. Professor Warren suggests five standards upon which such judgments may be based: the persons who evaluate literature; the classic or the masterpiece; the formal criterion of structure and style; the psychological effect upon the reader; and lastly, the philosophical attitude of the author. "The total act of judgment, assuredly, must be conceived as one in which, coherently related and flexibly applied, all the standards unite" (page 167).

The last section touches briefly upon the connections between literary criticism and the other branches of literary study: linguistics, literary history, and creative writing. The essay concludes with some remarks on the disciplines requisite to criticism, and on the improvements which modern criticism can make.

Professor Warren's aim is "to consider, as dispassionately as possible, the whole scope and duty of criticism" (page 133). In general, the essay is an admirable fulfilment of this purpose. It is extremely well written, clearly organized, and well thought out.

There is, however, a certain amount of overlapping between the second and third sections of the article. The second section deals with the esthetic and ideological types of criticism, and these become in the third section two of the five standards set up for judging the work of art. If there is any distinction between esthetic criticism, and the application of the standard of "formal characters of structure and style in works of literature"; between ideological criticism and the application of the standard of the "philosophical attitude or *Weltanschauung* of the author" (page 156), Professor Warren does not make it clear, and a good deal of repetition results.

Furthermore, is anything to be gained by the inclusion of the person of the critic in a list which contains four other standards which are impersonal? It is true that values require an evaluator; but it would be an advantage to consider the critic himself separately, and then the standards by which he criticizes. The fact that Professor Warren dismisses this personal standard in a brief paragraph of five lines, and then scatters his remarks about the qualifications of the critic throughout the rest of the article, seems to be an indication that his presentation could be improved here.

What he says about the relation of criticism to creative writing is true as far as it goes. But if he is going to say that as a critic of other men's work the poet or novelist has his own liabilities, he should point out that the exceptions to his generalization have been among the finest critics of past and present. A mention of the contribution of such men as Goethe, Coleridge, Baudelaire, and Gide—to cite but a few—would have been especially appropriate inasmuch as Professor Warren draws a good deal on the contemporary poet-critic T. S. Eliot.

Since the book as a whole is intended as a sort of manifesto of reform, it is natural to wish that the subject of this essay had been related to graduate study in the universities. Some space might well have been devoted to the problem of training the student in this field, and to the rôle of criticism as a pedagogic discipline. Moreover, in his introduction Professor Warren deplores the tendency in universities to regard literary criticism as "too exacting for all save the masters" (page 133). Yet the picture of the critic presented here—that of a man whose mind is coherent and mature, who is widely and deeply experienced in life and letters, who has had extensive training in the disciplines of linguistics, literary history, and imaginative writing, in philosophy, the fine arts, and the social sciences—is not calculated to dispel this attitude. On the whole, the article would have gained in force, and would have fitted better into the general purpose of the book, if it had been a little less dispassionate and a little more specifically related to academic training; if the subject had been considered less under the aspect of eternity and more under the aspect of graduate study.

WILLIAM S. ROGERS

#### "IMAGINATIVE WRITING," BY WILBUR SCHRAMM

Professor Schramm believes that scholars and writers have something to learn from each other, that the mutual contempt which they indulge in is useless and damaging to both, that it is the business of the universities to bring about an understanding between them, and that one way for the universities to do this is to give more place and credit to imaginative writing. It is an excellent idea. And Mr. Schramm deserves credit for undertaking, in behalf of the writers, to make peace with the scholars.

What he says is essentially this. Let us teach imaginative writing in the universities, and accept novels and volumes of stories and poems as theses. For after all, imaginative writing is as tough a discipline as the next one, requires plenty of good solid knowledge back of it, and if successful will contain much worthwhile matter such as "philosophy."

This is very good, but isn't it the wrong apology? All through his essay Professor Schramm keeps assuring us that writing really requires intelligence and, if good, will even amount to "philosophy." My notion is that it would have done more honor to writers, and no doubt been better strategy, to justify imaginative writing on its own grounds.

The objection is to Mr. Schramm's notion of imaginative literature in general, which is a version of Mr. Foerster's. Schramm sees art, with C. E. M. Joad, as "a window through which we gaze upon reality." When a figure of speech is used as a definition it is to be construed literally, as Mr. Schramm does. And it leads him to make some damaging remarks about art: for instance, "There is no direct connection between reality . . . and art." A legitimate extension of the figure would be this: art is a transparent structure set

up between us and reality; it is like a pane of glass, maybe rose-colored, but in itself almost nothing since the reality we are interested in lies beyond it; we would no doubt be better off if we could do away with it altogether, crash it, and look directly at reality. There is no reason why the figure should not be so construed; it is thus that we see why it is not valid as a conception of literature.

We also see how it allows Mr. Schramm to think of literature as containing such knowledge as "philosophy," rather than *being knowledge* itself. Scholars would be right to remain suspicious of imaginative writing if the best claim that can be made for it is that it contains any such watered-down ingredient as philosophy in quotes. Scholars and writers are not going to be brought together by a common interest in this sort of thing. They will rightly prefer the Plato-Aristotle tradition.

It is not going to do any good, either, to try to persuade scholars and writers that they have more in common than they actually have. I think Mr. Schramm, in his anxiety over a bad situation, has done this. It would seem a better solution for them to admit their real differences and try to understand them. My own guess is that the antagonism is at bottom a matter of allegiance to method. The scholar at present is loyal to the scientific method, which would be mostly inductive. The writer prefers the method of imagination, which is necessarily and incurably *a priori*.

Isn't it in terms of the *imagination* that imaginative writing is to be justified? In our time it is hardly possible for a writer or anyone else to escape an understanding of the inductive method of scholar and scientist. But do we understand and respect the method of imagination, and I mean its use as a serious instrument of knowledge? I think not commonly, even in university departments of literature. My notion is that our inability to take the imagination seriously makes good writing, and intelligent reading as well, much rarer and more difficult than is generally supposed. And what the universities have on their hands is nothing less than the job of retraining the imagination upon that body of knowledge which imagination has created, and which is literature.

JACKSON MATTHEWS

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- Brodin, Pierre, *Les Ecrivains français de l'entre-deux-guerres*. Montreal, Editions Bernard Valiquette, 1942. Pp. 389.
- Chasca, Edmund Villela de, *Lope de Rueda's Comedia de los Enganados*. An Edition. Chicago, 1941. Pp. iv+192.
- Clements, Robert J., *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade*. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, 18) Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii+288.
- Coffey, Sister Loyola Maria, *Adrien Jourdan's Susanna (1653)*. A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with a Study of the Play and its Influence on Brueys's *Gabinie* (1699). (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Volume XLI) Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 127.
- Cornell, William Kenneth, *Adolphe Retté (1863-1930)*. (Yale Romanic Studies, XX) New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. viii+303.
- Dargan, E. Preston, and Bernard Weinberg, *The Evolution of Balzac's Comédie Humaine*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xi+441.
- García Lorca, Federico (1899-1936). *Vida y obra—bibliografía—antología—obras inéditas—música popular*. New York, Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1941. Pp. 149.
- Gelson, Sister Mary Aline, *An Analysis of the Realistic Elements in the Novels of René Bazin*. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1942. Pp. xiii+153.
- Hatcher, Anna Granville, *Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French*. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Volume XLIII) Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 213.
- Jimenez, R. Emilio, *Del lenguaje dominicano*. (Academia Dominicana de la lengua, Publicacion No. 3) Ciudad Trujillo, R.D., Imprenta Montalvo, 1941. Pp. 180.
- Lancaster, Charles Maxwell, *Saints and Sinners in Old Romance*. (Poems of Feudal France and England.) Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. Pp. xxviii+328.
- Memoirs of the Life and Peregrinations of the Florentine Philip Mazzei, 1730-1816*. Translated by Howard R. Marraro. New York, Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xvi+447.
- Peyre, Henri, *Le Classicisme français*. New York, Editions de la Maison Française, 1942. Pp. 279.
- Protzman, Merle I., *Les Illustres Fous of Charles Beys*. A Critical Edition, with a brief account of the author and his works. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Volume XLII) Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 211.



